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BOMBAY BRANCH

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# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

# A TURKISH SPY,

*Who Lived Five-and-Forty Years Undiscovered at*

## PARIS;

Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Conſtantinople of the moſt Remarkable Tranſactions of Europe, and diſcovering ſeveral Intrigues and Secrets of the Chriſtian Courts, (eſpecially of that of France) continued from the Year 1673 to the Year 1682.

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*Written originally in Arabic, Tranſlated into Italian, and from thence into Engliſh.*

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# TO THE READER.

At length, after tedious expectation, you have this long wiſhed-for work brought to an end. There remains nothing now, but to anſwer a few objections, which may be made againſt the contents of ſome letters in all theſe volumes, and particularly in the two laſt; as alſo, to give you an account of what this laſt volume contains of remarkable, more than was mentioned in the preface to the ſeventh, ſome things being there omitted through haſte and forgetfulneſs.

As to the objections—Some people, more preciſe than they need to be, find fault with our Arabian for the ſeeming lewdneſs of his ſentiments, and profane expreſſions of God and his works, ſaying, that he writes more like a diſciple of Carneades and Epicurus, than of Mahomet, who taught his followers to think and ſpeak with profound veneration of the Godhead, and of all ſaints and prophets. They add, that in ſome of his letters he ſeems to banter all religion, whilſt in others he appears like a hypocrite, extravagantly devout and zealous, even to the heights of enthuſiaſm and divine madneſs.

In anſwer to this, it is deſired, that theſe gentle-

men will pleaſe to conſider, that our author, though a profeſſed Mahometan, yet is a man endowed with ſenſe and reaſon, which he had much improved by reading of hiſtories, by the ſtudies of natural, moral, and political things, and by his own experimental obſervations in the world: That therefore, when he ſeems to deſcant with an unwarrantable libertiniſm, profanely glancing with a religious kind of wantonneſs on divine matters, it ought not to be taken ſo much for his own proper direct thoughts, as the reſult of other men's errors, and the epidemical miſtakes and ſuperſtitions which have infected the world; ſo that he rather hints at what may be ſaid by way of inference, from the groundleſs opinions of men, than to aſſert any thing poſitively himſelf in diſhonour of the Deity, or true religion; and he banters the abuſes that are every where found in the ſervice of God, not the ſervice itſelf. In a word, he appears, in all his letters, a Deiſt, rather than an Atheiſt, as ſome would repreſent him. And it is well enough known to thoſe who travel in Turkey, and converſe with men of ſenſe there, that there are abundance of Deiſts among the Mahometans, as well as among us Chriſtians; and our Arabian demonſtrates that he is one of theſe, in thoſe very letters, or periods of letters, where they tax him with hypocriſy and extravagant devotion; for being, as it were, abſorbed and ſwallowed up in the profound contemplation of the divine majeſty, it is no wonder that he breaks forth into raptures of love, and eccſtacies of admiration, his thoughts being all over irradiated with the incomprehenſible and e-

ternal ſplendours; and it is theſe tranſcendant elevations of the ſoul, which are the cauſe of that contempt and low eſteem he ſhows toward the flat and inſipid notions and ideas which the generality of men have of the Creator of all things: It is this provokes him to mock and deride the vanity of human traditions and ceremonies, the ridiculous pomp and pageantry of external religion, which is apt to exhauſt the vitals of true genuine piety, devotion, and virtue.

Others are, or may be offended at his hiſtorical letters of the four monarchies, alleging that theſe are foreign to his buſineſs, as an agent *incognito* for the Grand Signior. The ſame fault they find with his deſcriptions, characters, and hiſtories of the preſent commonwealths in Europe, his province being to watch the motions, councils, and tranſactions of the living, and not to rehearſe the facts and exploits of the dead.

In anſwer to this, it ought to be conſidered, that though the primary deſign of the Ottoman Porte in ſending this Arabian to Paris, was to penetrate into the ſecrets of our Chriſtian princes and ſtates, and to return conſtant intelligence thereof to the divan, yet this did not hinder but that he might hold a correſpondence with his private friends in Turkey, and ſend them frequent letters on what ſubjects he pleaſed, or as he thought would moſt oblige them; much leſs could he be excuſed from obeying the orders he expreſsly received from the mufti, or any other principal miniſter of ſtate, who ſhould require him, at his hours of leiſure, to tranſcribe either an-

tient or modern hiſtories, or to draw collections out of the moſt eminent Greek and Roman authors, knowing him to be ſkilled in thoſe obſolete languages, and that ſuch books were rare among the Turks, by reaſon that printing is forbid throughout the Ottoman empire: Therefore he could do no leſs, in duty and common civility, than oblige the mufti with an abſtract of the four monarchies, which he himſelf had offered of his own accord, and likewiſe gratify the expectations of Hamet the ſecretary of ſtate, who deſired to be informed of the governments, laws, religion, cuſtoms, manners, and characters of us Europeans, which our Arabian performed as well as he could, during his life; and had he lived longer, there is no doubt but he would have proceeded in deſcribing England, Denmark, Swedeland, Ruſſia, Poland, Hungary, and all other countries which he had not touched upon; but it ſeems he was ſnatched away by ſome ſudden and ſurpriſing fate, though not altogether unforeſeen; for he all along intimates, that he had ſome preſages of being made a ſacrifice, eſpecially when he heard of the ſudden death, or diſappearance at leaſt, of his correſpondent Nathan Ben Saddi, the Jew at Vienna; for then he plainly tells his friend Oglou in a letter, that he ſuſpected he was made away by an order from the Porte, and that he expected to be ſerved ſo himſelf in a little time; and it is poſſible it might be ſo, it being uſual with the Turkiſh court thus to reward the merits of their moſt faithful miniſters, and crown all their ſervices with martyrdom to the ſtate.

As to what this laſt volume contains more than was expreſſed in the preface to the ſeventh, here you have an account of the horrid poiſoning trade that was practiſed in France in the years 1681 and 1682; as alſo ſome remarks on our Popiſh plot; on the great comet that appeared about that time; with a particular abſtract of the life, and an account of the barbarous murder of Dr. Sharp, archbiſhop of St. Andrews and primate of Scotland. He alſo touches upon the perſecution of the Huguenots in France.

But that which ought to be moſt taken notice of, is a letter of his to Nathan Ben Saddi, wherein he highly extols the journal of Carcoa, Nathan's predeceſſor in that poſt; which journal the tranſlator of theſe volumes underſtanding to be in the hands of the Italian, who firſt found our Arabian's papers, and with whom he has ſince contracted a correſpondence, he has endeavoured to prevail with him to communicate it to the publiſher hereof; wherein if he ſhall be ſo happy as to ſucceed, he will in due time tranſmit it to the world in our mother tongue, to the ſatisfaction and benefit of the public.

Reader, farewel; and envy not the induſtrious.

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# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

# A SPY AT PARIS.

## BOOK I.

LETTER I.—MAHMUT *the Arabian at Paris, to* MEHEMET, *an exiled Eunuch, at Grand Cairo in Egypt.*

WHETHER it be an effect of thy melancholy letter, or of my own ugly conſtitution, I know not, but I am lately grown very deſperate, and reſolved upon death; I am tired with whatſoever I have yet enjoyed in this world, and I expect no greater ſatisfaction ſhould I live a thouſand years. Every pleaſure appears but the ſame in different forms; and they all agree in leaving us afflicted with the ſame or greater pain than they found us in, which is a ſufficient argument to a man of ſpirit, that he ought to die in purſuit of his own eaſe.

We walk here on earth in an enchanted circle of ſhadows and mockeries; our whole life is full of vanity and miſtake; every man's fortune is but a repetition of that of Ixion; we court clouds inſtead of divinities, and our moſt charming fruitions conſiſt in emptineſs.

Indeed all this viſible world is but a mighty pageant, a pompous emblem, a gaudy type of that inviſible region which is the mother of ſpirits. Oh! that it were lawful for a mortal to releaſe his ſoul from its long irkſome exile here below, and ſend it home to its native country, the kingdom of divine ideas! then would I ſoon launch forth into the unknown abyſs: But we muſt be reſigned, and not think much to bear our ſeveral deſtinies, and patiently wait for the appointed hour of tranſmigration, for it is in vain to think of haſtening or delaying our fate; beſides, for ought we know, the next ſtation may be worſe than this; every thing is full of myſterious darkneſs, and therefore, pr'ythee Mehemet, let thou and I lay aſide all fruitleſs care and ſadneſs, be as merry as will conſiſt with the wiſdom of a man, and when thou findeſt this black diſtemper approaching thee, run away from it, and ſhelter thyſelf in good company; arm thyſelf with wine and muſic againſt the ſullen demon of melancholy; but I counſel thee to avoid women, for they will but increaſe thy malady.

It is one of that ſex has given me this fit of grief, a woman that I have loved too much; but ſhe is ungrateful, falſe, and cruel; ſhe takes a ſingular delight in cheating me with falſe ſhows of love and friendſhip, and then in undeceiving me again. The ſame tongue which at ſome times will drop ſoft, kind, obliging words, at another ſeaſon ſhall utter nothing but contempts, defiances, and ſcorns.

Thou wilt wonder that a man of my age ſhould be concerned with any paſſion for women. I tell thee, my friend, it is impoſſible for me to baniſh from my heart an affection which has poſſeſſed it for above theſe thirty years. The love of that ſex is riveted in our nature, and our blood muſt firſt grow cold, and be congealed by

death, before this flame can be extinguiſhed; nay, many times it is more fervent, though of a ſhort duration, in our lateſt hours than in our prime; as when the oil which feeds a lamp is almoſt ſpent, the ſtartled flame begins to rouſe itſelf and burn afreſh, as if it would fain ſubſiſt a little longer, though on the very dregs of its accuſtomed fuel; it crackles and flaſhes with greater noiſe and luſtre than before, but preſently expires; ſo does this amorous fire, when we are neareſt to our diſſolution, begin to trouble us moſt, and makes our ſoul to blaze with fevers of deſire and grief, knowing its period is near.

Mehemet, let thou and I keep our affections for the beautiful and conſtant daughters of paradiſe, who will never caſt an eye on any man beſide their own. Doubtleſs this is part of ſupreme felicity.

Paris, 14th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1673.

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## II.—*To the* SELICTAR AGA, *or Sword-Bearer to the Sultan.*

THIS has been a terrible campaign to the Germans and their confederates; for when they firſt took the field in the ſpring, their forces amounted to ſixty thouſand men, but now at the breaking up, and going to their winter quarters, they could not number above twenty thouſand; ſo that they have loſt two parts in three of their army; whilſt the French proſper and are victorious, taking their towns and caſtles, ſubduing whole provinces to the obedience of this invincible monarch, and extending his conqueſts far and wide through the French-Compte, Lorrain, Alſace, Brabant, Flanders, Catalonia, and even to the iſles of the ſea.

I have formerly given an account to the miniſters of

the Porte of all the moſt remarkable actions performed in theſe ſeveral quarters; there remains only a late famous victory gained by the Mareſchal de Turenne, near Straſburgh, of which I cannot give thee the particulars, neither is it very material; but in brief I ſhall acquaint thee, that through the connivance of the Elector of Mentz and the citizens of Straſburgh, the confederate forces, amounting to forty thouſand men, got paſſage over the Rhine, and had like to have ſurpriſed the French, who were not above twenty-five thouſand ſtrong; but the vigilance and good conduct of Monſieur Turenne prevented their deſign, and turned the fortune of war to his own ſide. This wiſe general conſidering the unequal numbers of his enemies, did not think it fit to engage his whole army at once with theirs, leſt he ſhould be oppreſſed with their multitude, being almoſt double in number to his; but he fought them by detachments, ſetting upon them in their march; and this ſucceeded very fortunately, for he was in poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous poſts and paſſes of the country. He lined the hedges with ſome of his men, who galled the enemies as they marched along the roads; he planted others on the declive of hills, under the covert of thickets, which grew on each ſide of deep ways, through which the enemy muſt paſs; theſe annoyed them ſorely from their ſhady heights, whilſt ſome attacked them in the front. Thus by gradual ſkirmiſhes he cut off many thouſands, and ſtrewed the roads with dead bodies, till the confederates perceiving how they were embarraſſed on all hands, took the advantage of a certain wood, where they retrenched themſelves, and ſtood in their own defence a long time; but the French at length forced them from this ſhelter, and then began a formal battle, which proved bloody to the imperialiſts, for they had above three thouſand of their men killed

upon the ſpot, beſides thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners; they loſt alſo ten pieces of their cannon, and the ground was covered with cuiraſſes, halberts, pikes, muſkets, ſwords, and all ſorts of arms, which the confederates left behind in their precipitate retreat by night; for ſo general a conſternation had ſeized the minds of the ſoldiery, that all the rhetoric of the officers was not ſufficient to ſtop their flight. In this battle the Mareſchal de Turenne had his horſe killed under him by a muſket-ſhot, but he received no hurt himſelf.

He is a fortunate and wiſe general, knowing how to ſerve himſelf of all opportunities and advantages of time, place, and other circumſtances which offer themſelves to a man's conſideration in time of war; he never attacks an enemy without being ſure of getting the victory, or at leaſt of retiring ſecurely and honourably from the combat. The French uſe to ſay, "That if the Prince of Conde had an alloy of Turenne's earth in his temper, and Turenne had the Prince of Conde's fire, there would not be two ſuch other generals in the whole world."

Serene aga, nature has diſpenſed her gifts in thrifty parcels; every man has his genial excellency; and it is rare to find one whoſe faults do not counterpoiſe his perfections. May Heaven turn the right ſcale for thee and me.

Paris, 2d of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1674.

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III.—*To* MIRMADOLIN, *Santone of the Vale of Sidon.*

Now I will indulge ſacred thoughts, and follow the motions of wiſdom; I will obey the inſpirations of my better genius, and diſcourſe of things not fit for vulgar ears; I will not caſt my holy things to dogs, nor expoſe

that which is precious to the feet of ſwine. Let the ſmith labour at his anvil, and hammer the metal into what form he pleaſes; his eye is waſted with the perpetual vapour of the fire; and as to intellectual things, he is ſtark blind: So is the carpenter who works in timber, and hews away the knobs and roughneſſes with his axe; he ſaws it into planks, and afterwards ſmooths it with his plane; he marks out his work with line and plummet, and meaſures it with rule and compaſs; he fits one piece to another, and when all is poliſhed and prepared to his mind, he joins them together in a frame, and rejoices in the ſucceſs of his induſtry and ſkill.

Theſe and all other mechanics bend their mind to their work; that is the ſcope of their ambition; and when they have done, they eat and drink the fruit of their labours; they ſtudy not the ſayings of famous men, nor penetrate into the myſteries of dark parables; they have no inclination to ſeek out the wiſdom of the ancients, or to meditate on the inſtructions of ſages; therefore with ſuch as theſe I will not converſe, or talk of the way of perfection; nor yet with wreſtlers, fencers, or ſoldiers; I have as little hopes to prevail on mariners, lawyers, and courtiers, or on any that are entangled in worldly affairs; but I addreſs myſelf to a good and knowing man, who underſtands himſelf, and what his buſineſs is in this world; who comprehends the force of the chains which entangle his ſoul in this mortal life, and is inſtructed in the method of diſengaging himſelf. To ſuch an one I ſpeak, and not to others, who lie ſnoring in their lethargy, and will not be waked.

Certainly it is as impoſſible that one and the ſame rule of life ſhould fit the various tempers and conditions of men, as that one and the ſame courſe ſhould be taken effectually to diſpoſe a man to ſleep, and violently to keep

him awake: For he that would ſleep out his whole life, if any be ſo ſottiſh, it behoves him to procure a conſtant ſupply of things which create ſleep; whereas he that deſigns to be vigilant and active, muſt furniſh himſelf with ſuch things as chaſe away ſleep, and incline to watchfulneſs. The former therefore ought to give himſelf up to gluttony, drunkenneſs, and ſurfeiting; he ſhould have a dark houſe, a ſoft and large bed, and ſhould uſe all manner of applications that cauſe drowſineſs, as ſoporiferous perfumes, potions, &c.; whereas the latter ought to be always ſober, to drink moderately, and eat a ſlender diet; to have a light houſe, a ſerene air, a ſenſe of pain, a ſtrait and hard bed, little fitted for man's repoſe.

But whether we mortals are in a place where we ought perpetually to be upon our watch, or whether our whole life ought to be but one night of ſleep, is known only to ſuch as thee, who haſt diſcovered the preſtigious magic of the body, and how the ſoul is enchanted in this world; who haſt found out the native activity of the mind, and how it comes to be ſtupified by the hidden opiates that lie lurking in the fleſh.

Holy Santone, whilſt we are in this world of ſhadows, we are perfect exiles, baniſhed from our native country, which is the world of real ſubſtances: The more we are drenched in matter, the further do we ſtraggle from home, wandering in foreign deſarts of enchanted ground, where we converſe with none but empty ſpectres, fairies, demons, elfs, and cheating apparitions; for all that is in this outward world is but a falſe deluſion, the mimicry of nature, a heap of ſhadows reverſed and tinctured with a faint projection from the world of light.

Knowing therefore theſe things, let us make haſte to return to our native ſeats again; let us diveſt ourſelves of the ſtrange habits we have taken up by imitation in

this our pilgrimage, and purge our minds of all the ill qualities we have imbibed on earth; let us caſt off corrupt affections, appetites, and inclinations, with every vain and falſe opinion. When we are freed from all theſe weights, our ſouls will eaſily mount aloft, their wings never flagging till they perch upon the trees of paradiſe. What is more generous than the mind of man, when once awakened from the ſlumbers of this mortal life? How it deſpiſes theſe terrene enjoyments, and only pants and thirſts for the ſupreme delights above! As iron turns itſelf, and makes its amorous approaches to the magnet, ſo is the ſoul attracted by the original Eſſence which is its ſource and centre.

There are two ſpecies of chains which tie the ſoul down to this earth, and cauſe her to grow dull and torpid, as if ſhe were inebriated with deadly poiſon, forgetting her very native faculty of contemplation. Theſe are pleaſure and pain, of which our ſenſe is the author, with the prepoſſeſſion, phantaſies, opinions, memories, and appetites, which accompany our ſenſe; theſe hurry and precipitate the ſoul down from her proper manſion, and alienate her from the love of the only true ſubſtantial Being; therefore we ought to abſtain from ſenſible things as much as in us lies, and ſhun all objects that ſtir up irregular appetites, and produce abſurdities in our reaſon.

How many ſtrange affections flow from our taſte, binding faſt the ſoul with a double cord, whilſt the high reliſh and guſt of ſavoury meats enſnare her in the palate as in a net, and the load of indigeſted crudities weighs and ſinks her down into the belly, where ſhe is kept as in a dungeon, till ſacred abſtinence releaſes her again.

The ſenſe of touch does often draw the unwary ſoul forth from her faſtneſſes within, trepanning her with ſoft allurements and ſly promiſes of pleaſure to take the air

of the body; thus having got her into the open field, an ambuſcade of luſts, concupiſcences, perturbations, fears, cares, love, joy, grief, and other paſſions, ruſh upon her on a ſudden, and take her captive. How neceſſary therefore is it to be always on our guard, and not to lull ourſelves in dangerous ſecurity? Nor ought we to be raſh and fool-hardy in venturing on a combat, where it is better to decline it, leſt, inſtead of victory, we betray the weakneſs of our arms, and want of proper conduct.

O perfect man, thou ſeeſt theſe things in clearer light than I; it is not to inform thee that I write, but to confirm myſelf, whilſt I collect my ſcattered thoughts, and put them into order. If thou ſhalt vouchſafe to ſend me thy conceptions on this ſubject, I will revere the bleſſed diſpatch, as though it were an oracle.

In the mean while, may Heaven regard thy innocent life, and ſtill protect thee from the caſualties that threaten all of mortal race. May thy prayers be heard, and thy good works rewarded; finally, may thy end be like that of Enoch, who never ſaw death, but was tranſlated alive to paradiſe.

Paris, 9th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1674.

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## IV.—*To* Ali, *Baſſa.*

It is evident that the French arms are deſtined not to ruſt; one provocation or other always keeps them in action. The neighbouring princes and ſtates take their turns to affront and injure this monarch, and ſometimes they ſet upon him all together; ſurely they envy and fear the riſing fortune of France, and therefore ſtrive by ſtratagems and force to check its growth.

There having been ſeveral acts of hoſtility done by the

governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, without any hopes of a fair redreſs, this king found himſelf obliged to declare open war againſt Spain.

This was done very lately, and at the ſame time the Duke de Navailles was ſent with an army into Flanders, where he ſoon took the town and caſtle of Aubeſpine, the towns of Peſme and Mornais, the caſtle of Oigny, with the towns of Gray and Vezont.

This laſt is a place of conſiderable importance, being called the gate of Lorrain, and the poſtern of the Franche-Compte; whereby this monarch is become actual maſter of the baillage of Amont, which comprehends above five hundred villages.

The Spaniards ſeeing him thus ſucceſsful, and that they could not by open reſiſtance ſtop the courſe of his victories, took another method, and ſought to undermine him by plots and confederacies with ſome of his ſubjects.

They had agreed with the Chevalier de Rohan to ſettle on him a penſion of eight thouſand livres a-year, and to preſent him out of hand with five thouſand piſtoles, if he would put them in poſſeſſion of Quillebouf, a ſtrong place in the province of Normandy.

The Chevalier de Rohan had made himſelf and them believe that it was in his power with much eaſe to perform this, but he was miſtaken; ſome of his friends ſay he never thought of accompliſhing his bargain, his credit being too ſmall in that place, and that he only aimed to repair his fortune by cheating the Spaniards of their five thouſand piſtoles. However, the plot was diſcovered to the French king, who has his ſpies in all corners of the kingdom; the unfortunate chevalier was ſeized and brought to the Baſtile, and being convicted of treaſon, was condemned to loſe his head, which was accordingly ſeparated.

The Marquis of Villars, and the Sieur de Pereau, ſuffered the ſame puniſhment, as accomplices in the treaſon; another French lord of the party was killed in defending himſelf againſt thoſe who were ordered to arreſt him. Theſe had undertaken to deliver other places of ſtrength into the hands of the Hollanders, who firſt began the war.

Had their conſpiracy taken effect, it would have been no difficult matter to corrupt other grandees with the Spaniſh gold, and ſo a third part of France might have been ſold for a price not allowable in the markets of kings; for it ſeems the Hollanders and Spaniards were upon the point of making their deſcents in Normandy and Bretagne, being invited thereto by the large promiſes of the perſons before-named, and their confederates, who made them believe that a great part of the nobility and gentry of thoſe provinces would come over to them as ſoon as they ſaw them landed; and there was no need to fear any oppoſition from the vulgar, who are bound to follow the fortune of their lords; beſides, they are always deſirous of novelty and change.

There is nothing ſo abject, poor, and contemptible, as the peaſantry of France, who labour only for others, whilſt they can hardly get bread for themſelves out of all their toil; in a word, they are abſolute ſlaves to them whoſe tenants they are, and whoſe lands they farm; they are not more oppreſſed by the public taxes and gabels than they are by the private impoſitions of their country lords, beſide the unreaſonable demands of the prieſts. Theſe ſufferings diſpoſe them to wiſh for any revolution in the government, from which they might hope to receive gentler uſage.

It was this partly which encouraged the Hollanders and Spaniards to think of invading France; otherwiſe

they had only been upon the defenſive. This king has to do with a great many potent enemies; the emperor holds him play on the Rhine; the Duke of Lorrain gives him diverſion in his new conqueſts on that ſide; the King of Spain puts him to a great expence of men and money in Flanders; the Hollanders infeſt him by ſea, and would do by land, if they knew which way. Yet this monarch copes with them all, baffles their plots and intrigues, foils their arms, daily gains ground, and by a continued ſeries of conqueſt, makes it apparent that his is the only flouriſhing fortune in the Weſt.

The King of Sweden had made certain propoſals of peace between the Emperor, the King of France, the King of Spain, the States of Holland, and ſome of the electoral princes; in order to which he offered himſelf to become a mediator beween them. He ſent his ambaſſadors accordingly to a place agreed upon by all parties, as the moſt convenient for conferences of this nature; ſo did all the other princes and ſtates concerned in the war: But it ſeems there was a groſs affront put upon Guillaume de Furſtemberg, plenipotentiary to the Elector of Cologne, by the Marquis de Grana, ambaſſador to the emperor.

This was deeply reſented at the French court, as being a notorious breach of the law of nations; and the king publiſhed a manifeſto, wherein he charged the emperor with giving order for this inſult, declaring alſo, that unleſs due ſatisfaction were made, he would withdraw his ambaſſadors from the place of conference, and ſeek juſtice with ſword in hand.

He complained to the King of Swedeland of this violence, and entered into a cloſe and ſtrict league with him; Guſtavus preſently recals his ambaſſadors from the public meeting, commanding them to proteſt againſt the action of the Marquis de Grana, as a violation of the civil laws;

the French king has done the ſame, and all things ſeem to portend a general diſtraction in Europe.

Thoſe of the Roman church fight againſt one another, as well as they combine againſt the proteſtants, whom they eſteem as the common enemy, and have little better regard for them than we muſſulmans have for the Perſian kyſilbaſchi, whom we execrate as abominable heretics. One ſort of proteſtants alſo cabal againſt another; the Lutherans hate and perſecute the Calviniſts, which the latter return with equal animoſity. Theſe infidels are caught in the devil's ſnare, where they bite and devour one another; they are in egregious darkneſs, toſſed about in a tempeſt of errors; they are ſurrounded with enchantments; their guides are ſorcerers and magicians; hell has a hand in all their devices.

O ye true believers, lift up your heads; for the hour is approaching wherein the ancient prophecies muſt be fulfilled, "That the dragon of the Eaſt ſhall wage war with the eagle of the Weſt, and ſhall devour him whole with all his feathers." Woe be to thee, O land of Japhet, in the year 1700 of the Chriſtian ſtile.

Mighty baſſa, thou who haſt not numbered half my years, mayeſt live to ſee theſe things come to paſs: As for me I am haſtening to the ſpirits of my fathers, to a region of ſilence and eternal retirement, to a place where all the vanities of this earth ſhall be forgotten.

In the mean time, live thou to be a witneſs of the grand revolution, which will aſtoniſh all the world.

Paris, 7th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1674.

V.—*To* CARA HALI, *Phyſician to the Grand Signior.*

PRAISE be to God, from whom alone proceed health, long life, and immortal happineſs; in the whole family of fevers I never was much ſubject to any, except it were that of love. This indeed is become habitual to me; it is grown a perfect hectic; ſurely it is more than ſecond nature; I feel ſomething in the very roots of my eſſence, prompting me to eternal ſoftneſſes, wild melting fits of freſh Platonic tender paſſions; nothing can provoke my hatred but an obdurate ſurly-tempered fellow, who being the offſpring of ſome bloody butcher, poulterer, or greaſy cook, his very face portends a preſent maſſacre, and all his words breathe nothing elſe but a continued train of cruel wrongs and violences againſt the innocent; pity to him ſounds like the news of famine to a ſtarving man; but if you would make him ſmile, and put him in good humour, tell him how he may get an eſtate, by oppreſſing the fatherleſs and widows, or increaſe his wealth by ruining whole families; tell him how he may over-reach ſome ſilly credulous young heir, or outwit his neighbour in a bargain. He cheriſhes a ſpider in his brain, and his heart is full of webs. To ſuch a temper as this I cannot be reconciled; there is an innate antipathy, an immortal contrariety in our ſouls; my ſpirit is daunted, and retreats within me at the ſight of ſuch an one; a languor and faintneſs ſeizes my limbs; I am like one that has touched a torpedo.

Surely there is no ſpecies of four-footed beaſts, of birds, of fiſh, of inſects, reptiles, or any other living thing, whoſe nature is not found in man. How exactly agreeable to the fox are ſome mens tempers, whilſt others are perfect bears in human ſhape! Here you ſhall meet a crocodile, who ſeeks with feigned tears to entrap you to your ruin;

there a ſly ſerpent creeps, and winds himſelf into your affections, and when he is well warmed with favours, on a ſudden he will bite and ſting you to death. Tigers, lions, leopards, panthers, wolves, and all the monſtrous generations of Afric, may be ſeen maſquerading in the forms of men; and it is not hard for an obſerving mind to ſee their natural complexion through the borrowed vizard. The phyſiognomy of vice and virtue are eaſily diſtinguiſhed; there are ſome ſecret characters in every face, which ſpeak the nature of the perſon; ſo does Platonic love, with eagle eyes, ſoon trace the ſignatures of what is amiable in the ſoul. We read the hidden qualities of men at the firſt glance, and hence are laſting friendſhips often contracted. I love my friends without reſerve, and becauſe thoſe are very few among our mortal race, I contract familiarities with the harmleſs animals; I ſtudy like a lover to oblige and win their hearts by all the tender offices I can perform; I bear with patience their wild froward tricks, till conſtant perſeverance vanquiſhes their ſtubborn humours; then when we once begin to underſtand each other aright, they make me a thouſand ſweet returns of gratitude, according to their kind; when I am melancholy, they will ſoon divert me with one pretty trick or other, as if they were ſenſible of my pain.

But becauſe my love is large and ſtrong, ſtill ſeeking to dilate itſelf, though ſtill recoiling from the degenerate race of men, I go into the fields and woods, and make my ſilent court unto the trees and flowers, and ſometimes I converſe in raillery with echos; I languiſh on the banks of cryſtal ſtreams, and pine away for an old moſſy rock; the oak inflames me with a ſacred paſſion; when I behold her venerable bulk and ſhade, I could almoſt turn druid for her ſake, and take my reſidence up for ever in her

hollow trunk, where the kind genii of the air would viſit me, and tell me things to come, inſtructing me in all the myſteries of nature; for I am in love even with thoſe inviſible beings, and often tell my paſſion to them in the woods, or on ſome mountain, where the courteous winds tranſport my words, and waft their ſecret anſwers back again. Then is my ſoul ſnatched up in ſacred ecſtacies, becauſe the immortals condeſcend to talk with me; I often fall into a trance, and wake not till the ſun is got half way into the other hemiſphere; then I reſolve to paſs away the night in this ſweet ſolitude.

Had I the tongues or pens of Cicero and Demoſthenes, I could not to the life expreſs the pleaſures that I feel at ſuch a time, when free and undiſturbed I can for ſeveral hours behold the motions of the moon and ſtars. Oh God! what thoughts, what contemplations riſe within my breaſt! my raviſhed ſoul is ready to break priſon for joy, when it is inſpired with certain demonſtrations of the world's eternity. Methinks at ſuch a time I hear the noiſe and buſtle of the worlds above; methinks I ſee the active buſy tenants of the moon and ſtars trudging about their daily buſineſs, even like us mortals here below. Then it is I nauſeate the narrow principles of ignorant, ſuperſtitious men; I hate to think of ever returning to the city again, there to profane my reaſon with the vain diſcourſe of ſelf-conceited fools and idiots; I am cloyed with life, and wiſh to die amidſt theſe charming ſpeculations. Thus do I paſs the time away till fair Aurora uſhers in the roſy-fingered morn; then I begin to reflect on my duty as a muſſulman, and ſlave to the Grand Signior; I haſte to waſh myſelf in the next ſtream, and cheerfully proſtrate myſelf upon the ground, adoring the Eternal Source of all things; after which, abundantly ſatisfied with theſe nocturnal pleaſures, I return to the ci-

ty, and to my buſineſs, conſidering that I was not wholly born for contemplation.

Learned Hali, I wiſh thee conſummate happineſs in this life, and fortunate tranſmigrations after death, praying alſo that I may merit one day to enjoy thy company in paradiſe, where we may diſcourſe theſe things more at large, and in a clearer light than what this earth affords. Adieu.

Paris, 2d of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1674.

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## VI.—*To* Kerker Hassan, *Baſſa.*

To what purpoſe am I kept longer in Paris? why do the miniſters of the Porte put the Grand Signior to a needleſs expence in maintaining here an old ſuperannuated ſlave, not worth his daily bread? And yet, God knows, I eat not much, neither can I taſte any pleaſure in that little I eat. My reflections are like the entertainments of magical tables, where the eye is deluded with a fair ſhow of various delicacies, but the ſtomach is not ſatisfied with any real food, nor the body ſtrengthened by any ſubſtantial nouriſhment; only the languiſhing imagination feeds on fantaſtic diſhes, mere ſhadows, and enchanted reſemblances of ſolid meat, while the man is ready to faint for hunger. So I ſeem to myſelf to eat and drink, but it is with ſo little guſt at preſent, and I receive ſo little benefit from it afterwards, that all appears no more than a viſionary feaſt, or a collation in a dream.

I have now paſſed the grand climacter of human life, being entered into the ſixty-fourth year of my age; my ſenſes droop, and all the faculties of my ſoul and body decay apace; my bones are weary of ſupporting their accuſtomed burden; my ſinews and muſcles refuſe to per-

form the offices of motion, at leaſt their vigour is much ſlackened and impaired; in a word, the infirmities of my body have ranked me under a new predicament; I am become a three-footed animal, being forced to walk with a ſtaff, to prevent the neceſſity of metamorphoſing my hands to feet, and crawling on all four.

Judge now, illuſtrious Arab, after what I have ſaid, whether I am fitting to do the Grand Signior ſervice in this ſtation. As for the intrigues of the court, I am quite tired of them; beſides, here are now no more Richlieus and Mazarinis in being, with whom I might inſinuate on the ſcore of ſkill in tranſlating Greek, Sclavonic, Arabic, and other Eaſtern languages; Ofmin the dwarf is alſo dead, from whom I uſed to learn many ſecrets; fate has alſo ſnatched away ſeveral courtiers with whom I had intimate converſe. Add to this, that Eliachim grows old and crazy, who was once as my right hand; ſo prompt and dexterous in any buſineſs of difficulty; faithful alſo as my own heart, which never was tainted with the leaſt ſymptom of diſloyalty: So that, all things conſidered, I cannot ſee what the ſublime miniſters can propoſe in retaining me at Paris.

I do not deſire, as formerly, to travel into India, or any other region of the Eaſt; I do not ſo much as covet to ſee my own native country, for which I have had ſuch paſſionate longings. No, every place will be Arabia to me, where I may reſt from buſineſs of ſtate, and ſhut up my latter days in quietneſs. It is time for me to bid adieu to the active life, and betake myſelf wholly to contemplation. I would fain abandon, not only the actual vanities of this fading world, but the very remembrance and thoughts of them. My mind is naufeated with the ideas of paſt folly, which men falſely call pleaſure; and I find no guſt in any thing but the medi-

tation of death, and the unknown ſtate of departed ſouls; all other things are uncertain toys and empty trifles; but that great change, which no mortal hath ever yet eſcaped, is ſtable, permanent, and fixed by deſtiny; fate has ſet the period, which winds up the epocha of every man's life in this viſible ſtate, and begins a new hegira, whereof we have no computation, in regard we have no correſpondence with that unknown world; neither are there any certain hiſtories extant which can rightly inform us. The flight of the ſoul from the body begins the myſterious date; but where or when it will end, is not known to us that ſtay behind. This, therefore, alone is worthy of an old man's thoughts, how to prepare himſelf for death, ſince he cannot protract the term of his life beyond the moment allotted by Heaven; neither can he be aſſured what will become of him afterwards.

Think not, ſerene baſſa, that I am going to lay a train for the reputation of a ſaint, or would ſet up all on a ſudden for an extraordinary pious man. No, there is nothing of that in it. I hate the rigid hypocriſy of forced penance, and the religious lunacy of thoſe who never think they do enough to atone for their ſins, unleſs they outdo humanity itſelf in their cruel mortifications. Theſe are monſters in all good divinity, and their example is not to be followed.

What I aim at in this diſcourſe, is, that as according to the order of nature, and will of deſtiny, we are born men, ſo we ſhould take care to live and die: And if we have ſuffered the former part of our life to elapſe without due reflection on ſo important a truth, it is but reaſon, that when we approach near the grave, when all our ſenſes, faculties, and members, do the part of King Philip's page, putting us daily and hourly in mind of

our mortality, it is but reaſon, I ſay, that then we ſhould begin to recollect ourſelves, and to think whereabouts we are, that we may not be ſurpriſed by the inevitable decree of fate, when it comes to be put in execution, nor die leſs than ourſelves.

Beſides, there is another advantage in being thus prepared for the laſt things, ſince it equally arms us againſt all intermediate calamities, ſuppoſing we ſhould live longer than we reckon. He that can boldly ſtare death in the face, will not eaſily turn his back upon any misfortune of this inconſtant life; but, receiving all things with an even temper, renders himſelf happy in the midſt of troubles, loſſes, diſgraces, pains, ſickneſſes, and other caſualties which aſſault all that live on earth.

Magnificent baſſa, all that I have ſaid is but a prologue to my main purpoſe, which is to deſire thy mediation with the firſt vifier, that I may be recalled from an employment wherein I cannot be ſo ſerviceable as I have been, and which, at the ſame time, by impoſing on me a thouſand cares, takes from me the poſſibility of preparing, as I ought to do, for that tranſmigration which in a little time I muſt paſs through.

In a word, right noble Kerker, I deſire the privilege to end my days in Conſtantinople among the muſſulmans, under the venerable ſhade of moſques and minarets, conſecrated to the ſervice and honour of the Eternal Unity. Let me not have worſe uſage than the ancient Roman ſoldiers had, who, when they had ſerved in the wars ſuch a certain number of years, were diſcharged with an honourable penſion.

This is all the favour I requeſt, who have ſerved the Grand Signior faithfully, and with ſucceſs, theſe eight-and-thirty years, in a country of infidels. But if my fa-

periors ſhall determine otherwiſe, I am reſigned to their pleaſure, and to the will of deſtiny.

Paris, 22d of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1674.

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VII.—*To* ALI RUSTAN BEGH, *Seraſquier in Dalmatia.*

THOU ſhalt hear how a famous Chriſtian general, the Mareſchal de Turenne, deported himſelf when he was lately challenged to a ſingle combat by the Prince Palatine of the Rhine.

It ſeems this latter has been a great ſufferer by the preſent war between France and the confederate princes; for his country lying near the Rhine, was expoſed to both parties, and the French firſt entered it.

There were ſome Engliſh troops in the French army, who had conceived an implacable revenge againſt the ſubjects of the palatine, in regard many of their comrades had been barbarouſly handled by them; wherefore they made great devaſtation wherever they came, burnt five-and-twenty great villages to the ground, and five ſmall cities; in a word, they quite ruined, in fifteen days time, the whole country, which is eſteemed the moſt pleaſant and agreeable part of Europe.

Thus put the elector all in choler, and he wrote a ſharp letter to the Mareſchal Turenne, threatening him in a furious manner, and bidding him chooſe the place where he might fight with him in ſingle duel; but the ſage mareſchal retaining his uſual moderation, and not at all moved at the palatine's letter, anſwered it in theſe or the like terms: "That the proceedings of the Engliſh regiments were without his order or approbation; that he was infinitely troubled at the violences which had been committed, and that the chief authors had been

puniſhed; nevertheleſs, he could not but declare, that the cruel treatment which the Engliſh had met with, had ſo exaſperated their companions, that it was no wonder to ſee them execute their revenge, even on the very inanimate things; and that in the firſt heat and tranſport of their fury, they had not leiſure to examine who were guilty, and who not." He added likewiſe, "That if the poſt which the king his maſter had appointed him, would permit him to accept of his challenge, he would not refuſe it, counting it an honour to meaſure his arms with thoſe of ſo illuſtrious a prince; but that as things were, he deſired to be excuſed."

In former days, ſuch an anſwer as this would have been taken for an argument of cowardice in a man profeſſing arms. There was nothing more common among theſe infidels, than to decide their private controverſies, grudges, and quarrels, by the ſword, and their laws allowed it. If any man had accuſed another wrongfully, or had done him any other injury, he did not run preſently to the cadis or lawyers for redreſs, but had recourſe to his arms, and whoſoever got the victory, his cauſe was pronounced juſt; but ſince the commerce which has been eſtabliſhed between the Muſſulmans and the Nazarenes, theſe latter have learned to forſake ſo impious a practice, being aſhamed that the followers of Mahomet, whom they call infidels, ſhould outſtrip them in the peaceableneſs of their tempers, a virtue ſo earneſtly recommended to the practice of all Chriſtians by Jeſus the ſon of Mary; beſides, they have found the inconvenience of theſe private combats, and they are generally forbidden now in moſt countries of Europe. This is owing to the examples of the muſſulmans, whoſe anger againſt each other ſcarce ever proceeds to contumelious words, much leſs to blows, or any attempt upon life;

for when a diſpute ariſes between two true believers, and they become never ſo little paſſionate thereupon, it is but for a third perſon, one of the faithful, to interpoſe himſelf, and reproach them with violating the laws of the prophet, and the honour of their profeſſion, and they immediately are made friends again. Such magic there is in the force of theſe words, "Fy, fy! What! Muſſulmans, and quarrel?" the uſual reprimand of the byſtanders; which is an evident argument, that our holy religion has a greater influence on the hearts and conſciences of thoſe that profeſs it, than has that of the Nazarenes; for whilſt theſe pretend to believe and honour the Meſſias as their lawgiver, they diſobey him in their daily practice, and ſo give the lie to their faith, diſcovering that it has no efficacy on their morals. Doubtleſs the Meſſias was holy, chaſte, peaceable, humble, and harmleſs; but it is rare to find any of theſe virtues among his followers. He bid them return good for evil, bleſſings for curſes, and to ſuffer all injuries patiently, after his example; but they invert the order of his precepts, and read them backward, as they ſay witches do the pater-noſter.

When Judas came to ſeize him in the garden of Gethſemani, with a train of officers and ruffians, one of Jeſus's retinue drew his whiniard, and cut off an ear from the ſervant of the high-prieſt; but the Son of Mary was ſo far from commending his zeal in this, that he bid him put up his ſword, telling him withal, "That whoſoever draws the ſword, ſhall periſh by the ſword." At the ſame time, he reſtored the fellow's ear again by a miracle.

Magnanimous ſeraſquier, what I have ſaid intrenches not on the right of lawful war in defence of one's coun-

try, or of the volume brought down from heaven. The ſacred combat was ever allowed of by God and man.

Thou art now engaged in this cauſe againſt infidels; fight generouſly and vanquiſh; but enter not into private duels with any man, though he be a prince, without the Grand Signior's conſent; for the ſafety of his royal perſon depends upon the preſervation of his faithful, valiant, and wiſe generals.

Paris, 25th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1674.

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## VIII.—*To the ſame.*

I will now give thee a brief account of the famous battle of Seneſ, which makes a great noiſe in Europe, and is reckoned one of the moſt terrible that has been fought in theſe parts for many ages; for it will not be amiſs to let thee know the particular circumſtances of this combat, the good conduct of the French generals, as alſo their overſights and errors, that thou mayeſt make a right uſe of ſuch examples, in the difficulties which may environ thee through the chance of war.

On the 9th of this inſtant moon, the confederate forces, amounting to ſixty thouſand men, marched with their left wing to a place called Arken, and their right to the foreſt of Burſſeray, where they encamped, having before them a village called Seneſ, ſituated in Brabant; they tarried there on the 10th day, and next morning parted from thence, marching in three lines, counting the baggage for one; whilſt the Prince de Vaudemont commanded a body of ſix thouſand Spaniſh horſe, to cover their march, and to ſkirmiſh with the French, if there ſhould be occaſion, till the whole army were in order.

As ſoon as the Prince of Conde was advertiſed of theſe motions, he was reſolved to take advantage of their neceſſity, and to attack them before they could poſſibly get together into a body capable of ſuſtaining the ſhock of the French army, which was cloſely embattled. To this end he cauſed one part of the army, with four pieces of cannon, to croſs the river of Pilton, where unſuſpected they might obſerve the enemies motions; another part he poſted in a deep valley, where the confederates could not perceive them; and that nothing might be wanting to his full information of their advances, he cauſed the mareſchal of the camp, with a conſiderable detachment, to gain a certain hill, from whence, lying under the covert of thick woods, he might attend every ſtep of the enemy, without being diſcovered himſelf.

When the prince had made all thoſe preparations, he ſent the Marquis de Rannes, and the Chevalier de Telladet, with the dragoons under their command, to aſſault the confederates not far from Senef. This was performed with ſo much vigour, that they drove them into the village, with no little ſlaughter of the Spaniards; but not ſatisfied with this, they attacked them in the village itſelf; and after a long and bloody conflict, the French beat them thence alſo, purſuing them into the plain, till at laſt both the whole armies were engaged pell-mell; then was the fight cruel and fierce, the officers of both ſides behaving themſelves with ſurpaſſing bravery, and the ſoldiers not ſhrinking from their valiant leaders. But fortune favoured the French, who, before they quitted the plain, became maſters of all the Hollanders baggage, ammunition, powder, and money, which they brought with them to pay the army; then the Prince of Conde chaſed them into the village of Dufay, where the confederates intrenched themſelves under the covert of a

caſtle, and a ſtrong church. But that active general would not ſuffer them to reſt long there; he ſet upon them on all hands ſo furiouſly, that they were forced to abandon the place, and enter the plain the ſecond time. The battle had now laſted five hours, and great was the ſlaughter on both ſides. The French took almoſt four thouſand priſoners, and killed as many upon the ſpot, beſides thoſe that they left wounded, which ſo weakened and diſcouraged the confederates, that the next day they retired, and left the French maſters of the field.

Now I will tell thee, that had the Prince of Conde been contented with his firſt victory at Senef, he had ſaved abundance of French blood; for in that fight the confederates loſt above two thouſand men, and the French ſcarce an hundred. But the fierineſs of his temper carried him beyond his judgment, to purſue them into difficult places; ſo that in the winding up of the matter, though the victory was his, it coſt him above fifteen hundred lives of his ſoldiers, which might have been as well ſpared, and his honour remained the ſame.

Valiant ſeraſquier, I ſend thee this narrative, as a chart by which to ſteer thy courſe in the like emergencies, adviſing thee to temper thy courage with ſage conduct and prudence, and not to ſacrifice thy men to a raſh caprice of martial frenzy.

Paris, 12th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1674.

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## IX.—*To* Mehemet, *an exiled Eunuch, at Alcairo in Egypt.*

How changeable is the ſtate of mortals! how inconſtant our thoughts, paſſions, words, and actions! We are never fixed long on any thing; if we are invited to

caſt anchor a while in ſome calm and ſerene ſeaſon, whilſt we furl the ſails of human care and anxiety; if we are permitted to careen and recruit our weather-beaten ſpirits, enjoying ſome ſhort interval of reſt and eaſe, the indulgence ſoon expires, and we are forced to weigh and hoiſt with double diligence, leſt we incur a wreck. The tempeſts raiſed by our evil ſtars blow hard upon us; we run adrift, and are toſſed up and down on the billows of human miſery, without any approved pilot, chart, or compaſs, to direct us in the uncertain road of life; we float at random, in a ſea of perpetual hazards and difficulties.

O Mehemet! I will not now, as once formerly I did, wiſh myſelf in one of the Egyptian pyramids, or court the ſociety of ghoſts and demons; I will not take ſanctuary in thoſe ſuperannuated priſons of royal ſouls, nor ſeek diverſion among the dead; not the black maſquerades of Cheop's ſepulchre, danced each night by antic ſhadows, or wildeſt meaſures of hobgoblins in the galleries of that horrid pile, could now relieve my melancholy, or eaſe my frenetic pain, becauſe the entertainment is too narrow, cloſe and ſtale for ſuch a ſoul as mine. I would fain ramble through an infinite ſpace, planted each ſtage with ſeminaries of new ideas, uncouth forms, and ſtrange chimeras; I would ſee the eſſence of all beings that I have already ſeen, reverſed, turned upſide down, or inſide out, or any way transformed, ſo as I might not know them again; I would have all the elements change their qualities; the fire to loſe its innate heat, and water to expunge its moiſture; the earth take fire, and blow itſelf up into the ninth ſphere, whilſt the air ſhall condenſe and cruſh itſelf into a ſolid globe, producing a new race of minerals, vegetables, and living creatures, which our old purblind world never ſaw be-

fore; I would have flying trees, and birds whoſe outſpread claws take rooting in the air, and grow like Baucis and Philemon; their wings to branches turned, their feathers into leaves; beſides a thouſand kinds of mouſters, more than ever Ovid ſpoke of in his metamorphoſis.

After all this, I would go up and view the orbs above, reſtore the rotten corruptible heavens, pull all the bulls and bears, the ſcorpions, lions, centaurs, and other antiquated beaſts out of the ſky; make the new ſtar of Caſſiopœia pay a ſwinging fine for her damned late unmannerly appearance in the ſenate of the ſtars.

Then would I ſet up an inquiſition for the comets, to know from whence they are, and what their buſineſs is among the orbs above; I would examine all the conſtellations, and know the meaning of their names, and ill-ſhaped figures; and then I would trace the milky way, mounting directly to the holieſt heavens of all.

There, perhaps, I ſhould begin to be modeſt and ſober, conſidering that it is the preſence-chamber of the Omnipotent; I would not broach ſedition, nor talk factiouſly before the King of all things; but behaving myſelf like a courtier during the public audience, I would afterwards retire, and ſcamper through the endleſs fields, beyond the Cœlum Empyræum, where I would either find out new worlds, or room for them; nothing ſhould confine my ſearch leſs than infinity. Is not our ſenſe, fancy, and reaſon, without bounds? Are not theſe parts of the univerſe? And has God made any part greater than the whole? This is a contradiction in nature. He has given us faculties, which, if rightly uſed, cannot err; our conceptions are ſquared to his eternal model of the world, if we do not debauch our own thoughts, or ſuffer them to be corrupted by others. He is the pri-

mitive and original reaſon, the everlaſting common ſenſorium of nature, in whom, and by whom, we all ſee that we have eyes, hear that we have ears, ſmell that we have noſes, taſte that we have a tongue, and feel that we are all over full of ſenſible ſpirits.

Oh God! thy praiſes are without beginning or end; thou art an eternal circle of wonders and miracles; thou ſurpaſſeſt all our ſublimeſt thoughts; no words can decypher the ſkirts of thy garment; on thee infinite worlds have reſted from eternal ages; thou art no niggard of thy gifts. Why ſhould infinite goodneſs and bounty be traduced by infidels? They ſay the world is but ſo many thouſand years old, perhaps five or ſix. It is a damned blaſphemy, thus ſlily to calumniate the Omnipotent, and to ſay by craft he was not ſo early gracious as he might have been. What ſhould ail the Eternal, that he was not in a condition to produce the world before? Or was he in a ſullen humour, that he ſhould ſuffer a lapſe of indeterminate ages, before he ſhould diſplay his attributes?

Oh, no! ſuffer not this doctrine to take root in thy ſoul, my dear Mehemet, but remember there is no envy in the Deity; doubtleſs he was as good, powerful, juſt, and wiſe, from all eternity, as at Moſes's hour of the creation, or as he is now, and ever will be, world without end, amen; as the Nazarenes have in their prayers.

My Mehemet, let us ſhake off the prejudices of education, with all the prepoſſeſſions and falſe dogmas of our early years, and adhere to firm reaſon, and the inſpirations that are from beyond the viſible frame.

Take this as my laſt adieu, for I am juſt equipping for the unknown eternal voyage.

Paris, 5th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1674.

## X.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE affairs of France ſeem to be in a very flouriſhing condition; this invincible monarch not only conquers cities and provinces by force, but ſome yield to him voluntarily, courting his protection.

Here are arrived deputies from the ſenate of Meſſina in Sicily, to deſire the king to free that city and people from the yoke of Spaniſh tyranny, and to number them among his ſubjects; they are received without much ceremony on the part of this court, which affects to appear ſtately and reſerved at ſuch a juncture; however, there is no point of humanity or hoſpitable uſage neglected toward theſe ſtrangers; in a word, they are entertained as friends of a lower degree, and they eſteem this a ſufficient happineſs.

It ſeems the Spaniſh government was very ſevere and cruel, laying inſupportable taxes on the inhabitants, and fleecing them of their ſilver and gold by a thouſand tricks and inventions of ſtate. It was a crime to grow rich, and no leſs to be ſo poor as to deny the payment of the gabels; the one put a man in danger of the Inquiſition, the other expoſed him to the galleys, or ſome worſe ſlavery in the mines of Peru. On whomſoever the viceroy or his officers caſt an ill eye, that perſon was ſure to be ruined, if he did not make his eſcape, or preſent his enemy with the value perhaps of half of his wealth; and he muſt take it as a favour too that they would compound at ſuch eaſy rates; for theſe greedy harpies are ſeldom contented with leſs than all a man has.

Infinite other oppreſſions the people ſuffered under, which at laſt ſo wearied their patience, that they began to cabal and form conſpiracies againſt the viceroy; and

it was not only the vulgar that thus ſought after liberty, but the chief of the citizens, and ſome of the ſenators.

Theſe all unanimouſly agreed to treat underhand with the French king, to repreſent to him their grievances, with the preſent ſtate of the whole iſland; for they had heard the fame and character of his perſon and government, and they were well ſatisfied they could not ſubmit to a better or more generous maſter than him. The king undertakes to reſcue them from the Spaniſh bondage provided they would aſſiſt him with what ſuccours they could ſpare, and inſtruct his officers in thoſe things which would facilitate the reduction of the iſle.

He ſent forces accordingly, at the beginning of the year, under the command of the Chevalier de Valbelle, who acquitted himſelf very ſucceſsfully, having performed many conſiderable exploits, and taken ſeveral towns, caſtles, and other ſtrong places from the Spaniards.

The ſenate of Meſſina being encouraged by theſe proſperous beginnings, thought it high time actually to ſurrender themſelves up to the French king; and it is on this errand the deputies are come.

The king being informed that the Chevalier de Valbelle wanted greater forces to conquer the places which remain in the Spaniards hands, immediately gave orders for a certain number of veſſels to be fitted and manned, under the command of the Duke of Vivonne; he gave a commiſſion alſo to the Marquis de Velavoir, with a conſiderable army of men, ordering him to make all ſpeed for Sicily, and to join the Chevalier de Valbelle, or to act ſeparately, as occaſion offered.

They ſay the Duke of Vivonne will ſet ſail with his fleet about the beginning of the firſt moon: He is eſteemed a good ſoldier, though ſome of the grandees and peers of the realm envy him, in regard he was raiſed to the

high dignities he poſſeſſes through the mediation of his ſiſter, Madame de Monteſpan, one of the king's concubines; for he was before only Count of Vivonne, but now he is duke, peer, and mareſchal of France, as alſo admiral of the Mediterranean galleys.

The Prince of Conde, once in company with ſome of the grandees, and making a compariſon between the Mareſchals Feuillade and Vivonne, he ſaid that Feuillade got his honour by the ſword, and Vivonne by the ſcabbard, reflecting thereby on his ſiſter.

It was not the firſt time that prince uſed the liberty of his tongue in affronting people; he was always daring and bold in ſuch caſes: When he was young, and travelling through Picardy, he was to paſs by a certain convent, or religious houſe on the road, where the ſuperior with all his derviſes came out to meet him, and to pay him the ceremonies and acknowledgments due to his quality. The ſuperior was making a long elaborate harangue, in compliment to the prince, when he all in a frolic called aloud to know what o'clock it was. The poor derviſes ſtriving who ſhould moſt readily ſatisfy him, cried out all together, "It is mid-day, my Lord;" when he made them this wild anſwer, "Then get you all gone, and make an end of your ſpeech to the devil by mid-night; for I will hear no more of your long-winded flattery."

Thou wilt ſay this was an odd ſort of expreſſion in a prince; but it muſt be imputed to the fierineſs of his conſtitution, which in his youth ſpurred him on to a thouſand extravagancies. He corrected theſe in time, and inſtead of ſuch vain pranks and flaſhes of his ſparkling nature, he grew inflamed with noble ardours for his king and country. He was commonly called the French Lion and Mars, being eſteemed the boldeſt man in the kingdom. Mareſchal Turenne, who was no ſtranger to his

genius, uſed to ſay, "That ſince the brave Horatius Curtius, there never was a man born of woman ſo full of fire and ſpirit as the Prince of Conde."

Yet, which is more to be admired, that two ſuch qualities ſhould meet in the ſame genius, he is a great ſtateſman, as well as a valiant ſoldier; he has a prodigious aim at the good or ill ſucceſs of enterpriſes; and his counſels are generally fortunate.

As theſe accompliſhments have rendered him beloved by the generality of the French nation, ſo his inconſtancy, and ſiding with different factions, have made him ſuſpected both by the court and the parliaments. All ſides are ſhy of him, and reſerved in their addreſſes. Though he has done ſervices enough, one would think, to efface the memory of his former failings, yet the civilities he receives from the king are only the faint ſprinklings of court holy water; ſo hard a thing it is for an eminent perſon to recover the eſteem which he has once loſt by making falſe ſteps.

This monarch is obſerved to be very conſtant to thoſe he loves, never putting to death any of his favourites, though he has often cauſed them to be arreſted; he is very affable, and of no difficult acceſs; civil and courteous to the pooreſt people, returning the ſalutes of his ſubjects with much condeſcenſion; he is amorous alſo, and indulges that ſoft paſſion in the midſt of all his glorious enterpriſes; he had once three miſtreſſes together, one whereof was of vulgar parentage, the other was a noble woman, and the third a nun; which occaſioned this jeſt to be put on him, "That he went about to unite the three eſtates, and faſten them to the intereſt of the crown."

Among the other diverſions of this great prince, he takes a particular pleaſure in magnificent buildings; and

his new palace at Verſailles is eſteemed one of the wonders of the world, for beauty and art. As ſoon as it was finiſhed, a certain poet preſented the king with this diſtich:

Non orbis gentem, non urbem gens habet ulla;
Urbsve domum, dominum nec domus ulla parem.

Sage miniſter, theſe infidels flatter themſelves with a wrong idea of their own grandeur, not conſidering the invincible Oſmans are by deſtiny exalted above all other nations, and that no city is comparable to Conſtantinople for beauty and riches, nor any place ſo magnificent as the ſeraglio, which is the ſeat of the great Sultan, lord of Aſia, Africa, and Europe, arbitrater of the whole earth.

Paris, 17th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1674.

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## XI.—*To the* Visier Bassa *at Conſtantinople.*

I am acquainted with a French merchant in this city, who often trades to Conſtantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, and other cities of the Levant; he knows nothing of me or my buſineſs at Paris, farther than other people, who take me for a native of Moldavia, and one whom the deſire of knowledge has brought hither, where the ſciences have taken up their reſidence; beſides, they may imagine that the hopes of preferment in the church were one inducement to my travelling thus far from the place of my nativity, ſince I have all along profeſſed myſelf a ſtudent and candidate of the prieſthood, and it is generally known how familiar I have been with Cardinal Richlieu and his ſucceſſor Mazarini. Whatever their thoughts be, thou mayeſt aſſure thyſelf, that in the main I have taken care

to conceal my true circumſtances, and the affairs of the Grand Signior entruſted to my charge. But to come to the buſineſs.

The merchant of whom I ſpeak is called Monſieur de Vaubrun, a man of generous extraction, and by his induſtry he has acquired a conſiderable wealth. This perſon, not long ſince, came from Conſtantinople, and has made it his buſineſs, ever ſince his return, to extol the ſingular morality and juſtice of the muſſulmans. In all companies wherever he comes, it is uſual with him to ſay, "The Turks are perfect ſaints in compariſon with us." And to confirm his aſſertion, he relates many pretty paſſages of things happening whilſt he reſided at the imperial city, all in honour of the true believers; which has drawn upon him no ſmall hatred, envy, and perſecution from the prieſts, and their more bigotted followers. However, he ſhrinks not from his word, but ſtoutly maintains the truth of his aſſertions; and ſome men of ſenſe, who have heard the ſtories he tells, and the elegant account he gives of our religion and morals, cannot forbear crying out, "They are almoſt profelyted to the Mahometan faith."

Among the reſt, he recounts an extraordinary occurrence which happened to himſelf at his parting from Conſtantinople, which I thought it worth while to acquaint thee with, in regard it is much taken notice of in Paris by all that hear it, and conduces not a little to raiſe in the French an higher eſteem of the muſſulmans and our holy faith than they were wont to have.

It ſeems Monſieur de Vaubrun had entered into a ſtrict partnerſhip with Muſtapha Zari, a native of Turcomania, dwelling at Conſtantinople, and trading in ſilks; their mutual traffic and correſpondence held for the ſpace of four years, at the end of which the Frenchman being

called home to his native country, by letters from ſome of his friends, to take poſſeſſion of an eſtate newly fallen to him by the death of an uncle, he gave his partner notice of it, telling him his reſolution was fixed to depart very ſpeedily from the Porte, and take his voyage for France; at the ſame time deſiring that the accounts between them might be ſettled, which was done accordingly; and in caſting them up, it was agreed upon by both, that this Monſieur Vaubrun remained indebted nine hundred ſequins to Muſtapha Zari. There was no contention in the caſe; Monſieur very readily gave him five bags ſealed, and deſired him to tell the money. "No, (replied Muſtapha) we have dealt together thus long, and I have found you an honeſt man; God forbid that I ſhould miſtruſt my friend at our laſt parting."

This was done the day before Monſieur de Vaubrun was to take his leave of Conſtantinople; for he had hired horſes to travel by land to Smyrna, his buſineſs ſo requiring; therefore both parties being well ſatisfied, they bid adieu to each other, wiſhing mutual happineſs. The next day Monſieur de Vaubrun took horſe for Smyrna, having diſpatched all his affairs at the Imperial Porte.

It ſo happened, that as ſoon as he was gone, Muſtapha had occaſion to pay a thouſand five hundred ſequins to a merchant of Holland; wherefore, having newly received thoſe five bags from his partner, he, with them, made up the ſum due to the Dutchman, ſaying withal, that he had not told the money in thoſe five bags, in regard he took them on the credit of a very worthy and honeſt man, who had been his partner; but the jealous Chriſtian would not ſhow ſo much generoſity; for he preſently broke up the ſeals in the preſence of Muſtapha, and having told over the money, ſaid it was all right, and was very fairly putting it up again; but Muſtapha, who had

a quick eye, and being well verſed in telling of money, perceived there was a great overplus, above nine hundred ſequins; wherefore he bid the Dutchman hold his hand, till he had told the bags over himſelf, for he ſuſpected there was ſome miſtake. The Nazarene durſt not deny a true believer this privilege under the Grand Signior's protection, whatever he would have done in his own country; ſo that when Muſtapha had run the money over, he found eleven hundred and fifty ſequins in bags by themſelves, and gave the reſt to the Hollander: In a word, having diſpatched that payment, he ſent an expreſs away immediately, with the two hundred and fifty ſequins to Monſieur de Vaubrun, who he knew was to tarry ſome days at a town on the road, about twenty leagues from Conſtantinople, commanding the courier to deliver him this meſſage in writing: "My friend, God forbid that I ſhould detain any thing beyond my right, or deal with thee as a certain Frank would have done by me; for thou knoweſt that I took the money on thy credit, without telling it; but being to pay it away this day to a Dutch merchant, he not having the ſame faith, would tell it; and finding theſe two hundred and fifty ſequins over and above the ſum ſuppoſed to be in the bags, yet would have ſmuggled them in his Dutch conſcience, had not I diſcerned his fraud, and prevented him. I ſend them to thee as thy right, ſuppoſing it was ſome overſight. God prohibits all injuſtice."

This relation I had from Monſieur de Vaubrun's own mouth, and I tell thee it makes a great noiſe in Paris: I leave it to thy mature reſolves, whether that honeſt muſſulman deſerves not ſome particular and public honour to be done him, who by ſuch a rare action of juſtice, has raiſed a noble character of the muſſulmans among the infidels.

Moſt illuſtrious and ſerene baſſa, I pray the all-mighty and all-good God, to have thee in his holy protection, and augment thy virtues and felicities.

Paris, 11th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1675.

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## XII.—*To* Ibrahim Eli Zeid, *Hadgi, Effendi, Preacher to the Seraglio.*

Here has happened ſomething of late, which the prieſts magnify as an apparent miracle, whilſt, for ought I know, it is only a pure effect of nature.

Thou art not to learn that the Nazarenes have their ſaints in great veneration; that they invoke them in their neceſſities, ſet up their images and pictures in temples to be adored; that they preſerve their bones, aſhes, hair, garments, or any thing that deſerves the name of a ſacred relic; that they enſhrine theſe in coffins, urns, cheſts, and other veſſels of gold and ſilver, adorned with precious ſtones; that they place them in their moſques, as in ſanctuaries, ſometimes under their altars, at other times upon them; ſome in particular oratories or chapels, others in the choir; that they carry them in proceſſion in times of public calamity, and on certain feſtivals, thinking by this means to pacify the wrath of Heaven, and draw down the divine benediction. Thou art not ignorant alſo, that they believe the ſaints are guardians of certain kingdoms, provinces, cities, families, and even of private perſons.

Hence St. Denis is eſteemed the patron of France, St. James of Spain, St. George of England, and ſo of other nations. Each city alſo has its peculiar guardian ſaint; hence St. Anthony is accounted the patron of Padua, St. Mark of Venice, and, to come to the purpoſe, St.

Genevieve is adored by the citizens of Paris as the patroneſs of this place.

There is a beautiful temple built in honour of her, on the higheſt ground in the city, which alſo is called by her name, the mountain of St. Genevieve; on the decline of this there is a fountain of delicate water, which is called the fountain of St. Genevieve.

They attribute many miracles to this female ſaint, ſome of which ſhe performed in her lifetime, others after her death, if we may believe what the prieſts affirm, and what is recorded in the hiſtory of her life, in the annals of Paris, and the archives of the convent belonging to her temple; for there is a certain number of derviſes of the chief nobility in Paris, who conſecrate themſelves for ever to a religious life, in honour of this virgin.

They meet twice a-day in the choir of the church, all arrayed in long robes of white linen, where they chant aloud the praiſes of St. Genevieve; as oft they aſſemble, at different hours, in a private chapel in their cloiſters, to perform the like devotions. Thoſe who are choſen into this order, are all perſons of ſweet and lovely countenances, graceful demeanour, and learned education. One ſhall not ſee ſo much regularity, order, and devout modeſty, in any church in Paris, as appears in this, at the time of celebrating their divine myſteries. Yet, for ought I know, all this may be but hypocriſy and pious artifice, to attract the greater reverence from the people who are preſent at their ceremonies; I myſelf was aſtoniſhed once, when being there, I ſaw a beautiful youth approach the altar with a golden cenſer, hanging at a chain, which he held in one hand, whilſt with the other he wafted the rich perfume towards the ſtatues, which ſtood on high behind the altar; he had the very ſignature of virtue in his face, beſides a certain luſtre that ſeemed to ſpring all

on a ſudden into his eyes and cheeks, diſcovering ſome inward rapture of his ſoul; methought he looked like one of the pages of Eden, as they are deſcribed in the holy Alcoran.

I proteſt it was impoſſible for me to fix my eyes upon him, and not to feel the paſſions of Platonic love; he deported himſelf with a grace which cannot be expreſſed.

Afterwards I contracted an intimate familiarity with him, on the account of Arabic, which he learns of me; he is a perſon of excellent natural abilities, and well verſed in languages, and all manner of divine and human learning.

Pardon this digreſſion, venerable hadgi, in regard I could not forbear mentioning a perſon of whom I have a great deal more to ſay than can well be compriſed in one letter. Hereafter I will communicate a farther account of him, whilſt I now return to the church of St. Genevieve. In the upper part of the choir, four pillars of jaſper, with four golden images of angels on the tops, ſupport the ſhrine of this ſaint, wherein lies incloſed all that remains of her body; ſeveral wax tapers burn before it day and night; the devouter ſort of people kneel and kiſs the pillars which ſuſtain the admirable relics; they bring their linen and other veſtments to the prieſt who is appointed for this office; he faſtens them in the cleft of a long pole, and then raiſes that end up to the ſhrine, which is very near as high as the roof of the church; he touches the ſhrine with the linen, &c. and having done ſo, he takes it down again, when pronouncing a benediction on it, in the name of the ſaint, he reſtores it to the party whoſe it is.

They believe that linen, or any thing elſe belonging to the body, being ſo touched and bleſſed, has power to chaſe away maladies, to preſerve them from dangers, to

eaſe women in child-birth, and to make them proſper in all things; ſo profound is the attach which they have for this famous ſaint.

But whether there be any thing more in it than ſuperſtition and bigotry, God only knows; however, the inhabitants of Paris eſteem this ſhrine, as the Trojans did their Palladium, and the Romans their Ancile, which fell from Heaven, as Numa Pompilius made them believe.

When the city is threatened with any public calamity, this ſhrine is taken down with abundance of pomp and ſolemnity, and carried in proceſſion through the ſtreets, thinking thereby to divert the vengeance of Heaven, and appeaſe the anger of the Omnipotent.

Such was the caſe here lately; there having fallen ſuch an overplus of continual rains, as threatened to deſtroy all the corn and herbage, with the fruits of the earth, beſides the damage already done to innumerable perſons in their houſes and goods by the vaſt inundations.

This occaſioned a decree to come out for the taking down the body of St. Genevieve, and carrying it in ſolemn proceſſion to the temple of Notre-Dame; which was accordingly performed on the 17th of this moon. In the proceſſion were ſeen all the religious orders in this city, both of men and women, the parliament of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, the court of moneys, with the whole body of the citizens.

But no ſooner was the ſhrine of St. Genevieve brought into the open air, when the rain ceaſed, the clouds diſperſed, and the ſky became ſerene and clear; and ſo it has continued ever ſince.

The prieſts will have this to be an effect of St. Genevieve's intereceſſion with God for the province and city committed to her patronage; and the people are wil-

ling enough to believe it. If this ſhrine be as efficacious in cauſing rain when there is a drought, as the inhabitants of Paris affirm, it may not unfitly be compared to the Lapis Manalis of the ancient Romans. This was a certain great ſtone, which, in time of exceſſive dryneſs, the Romans uſed to draw into the city with vaſt ropes, by the gate Capena, whilſt the prieſts of the god Mars danced before it, and all the veſtals left the ſacred fire to follow the proceſſion; they drew the ſtone to the temple of the goddeſs Flora, where they ſtrewed upon it an handful of withered flowers and herbs; then immediately it began to rain, and they let the ſtone lie there, as a memorial before the temple of the goddeſs, till they had enough of that ſort of weather to ſecure the growth and maturity of the vegetables, and then they drew it back again in the ſame manner as before, only each veſtal now carried ſome of the ſacred fire in an earthen veſſel, whereas before they carried none.

Whether there be any real efficacy in thoſe religious ceremonies or no, is not in my power to determine; but it is certain that every nation confides much in the myſteries taught them by their prieſts. The force of education prevails on moſt men, even to old age, in regard they think it an impiety to examine or queſtion the traditions of their fathers, eſpecially when Heaven itſelf confirms their implicit faith, by ſeeming to regard and anſwer their religious addreſſes, in ſo peculiar a manner as theſe forementioned inſtances deſcribe.

Sage effendi, tell me whether it be hereſy to affirm, that God has ſent prophets into all nations, each furniſhed with his inſtructions and doctrines agreeable to the genius of the people whom they were to teach; and that he is not diſpleaſed at the various rites and ceremonies

by which every diſtinct region and climate adore his Divine Unity.

Satisfy me in this, and then thou ſhalt be more than Apollo in my eſteem; for I am full of doubts.

Paris, 10th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1675.

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## BOOK II.

### LETTER I.—*To* DONET OGLOU.

SOMETIMES I could wiſh myſelf without a ſpleen, it overwhelms me in ſuch deep melancholies; yet when I conſider the ſame vital is a neceſſary inſtrument of mirth and laughter, I reverſe that wiſh again; not that I am fond of a levity which makes us reſemble apes rather than men, though the philoſophers ſay the contrary; but I correct my partial thoughts, which would lay the fault on my body, when my mind is chiefly to blame; for he that is maſter of his reaſon need not fall into either extreme, to be always grinning like Democritus, or howling with Heraclitus. Reſignation and tranquillity are the golden mean; and he that ſteps over this line, on one ſide or other, falls into the ſame vanity which he bemoans or ridicules in the reſt of mortals.

I have ſtudied to know this world, and the nature of all things, but am never the wiſer, after ſo many years of ſearch; I have peruſed many books, and converſed with more men, yet none of them all can inform me of a certainty what I am myſelf; how then ſhould I be able to comprehend the eſſences of other things? Henceforth I will lay aſide this inquiſitive folly, and be careleſs, till

death ſhall either quite extinguiſh ſo troubleſome a paſſion, or fully ſatisfy it with new diſcoveries.

In that ſeparate ſtate, I hope to ſee in open light the naked forms of things, without the interpoſition of a veil or glaſs to thicken and duſk the proſpect; whereas in this life, we are fain to peep into the world through the cloſe windows of our ſenſes, which are ſo overlaid and darkened with the duſt our paſſions raiſe, beſides the natural dulneſs of their compoſition, that we are fain to run from pannel to pannel, and uſe the optics of philoſophy to help our ſight; yet, after all, we ſtill are purblind, and ſo are like to be during this mortal life; but when once this priſon of ours ſhall be demoliſhed by a tempeſt of misfortune, or by ſome ſudden diſaſter, or it ſhall moulder away through ſickneſs, age, and native weakneſs, thus crumbling to its primitive duſt, then ſhall the ſoul expand itſelf, and fly at large in the open firmament of wiſdom, light, and ſcience.

My Dgnet, let thou and I be content to bear the inconveniences of theſe earthly cages for a while, and in a little time we ſhall be conſigned over to eternal liberty. I deſigned to have ſaid more, but I tell thee I am too melancholy; therefore adieu for the preſent.

Paris, 19th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1675.

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II.—*To* Hamet, Reis Effendi, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

It is above ten years ago ſince I gave thee an account of the renowned Mareſchal de Turenne, wherein I did not pretend his complete hiſtory, or preſent thee with his full character, but only to inform thee of ſome remarkable paſſages in his life, and to draw an imperfect

idea of his virtues, which though they were very great, yet were not ſufficient to ſkreen him from the chance of war, and the ſtroke of a violent death.

On the ſix-and-twentieth of the moon of July, this great general having given all neceſſary orders for a battle with the Imperialiſts in Alſatia, was ſurveying a certain raiſed ground near Straſburgh, on which he deſigned to plant a battery, when a cannon ſhot from the town, guided by fate more than by the gunner's aim or ſkill, came grazing along on the earth, and in its career gave this hero a mortal blow on the breaſt, of which he inſtantly died without ſpeaking a word.

There was an officer of the artillery in his company, who ſpied the courſe of the bullet at a diſtance, and happily ſtarted out of the way. He reports, that Monſieur Turenne ſaw the ſame, but whether out of the greatneſs of his ſpirit, which would not ſuffer him to appear timorous of death, or whether his extreme thoughtfulneſs on the approaching battle, kept him from providing for his own ſafety, it is certain he ſtood immoveable, and ſuſtained the fatal ſtroke which coſt him his life.

The court of France laments his death with extraordinary demonſtrations of ſorrow, and ſo does all the kingdom; indeed they have reaſon, France having never ſent into the field a man more accompliſhed with all the virtues and heroic qualities requiſite in a great general.

They relate two or three remarkable paſſages of his life, which either happened ſince I wrote my former letter to thee about him, or at leaſt they came not to my knowledge at that time.

One was a little after his brother the Duke of Bouillon's death, when he was ſeen to weep very affectionately,

though he endeavoured to hide his paſſion from the obſervation of others; which was taken notice of as an argument of his compaſſionate temper, and that all the blood which had been ſpilt in his ſight, and under his conduct, had not diminiſhed his natural tenderneſs and humanity.

He was ſincerely modeſt, without giving the world any occaſion to judge that he only affected to appear ſo; for when any of his friends or creatures would run into hyperboles in extolling his actions, he would not, by a feigned humility, and denying all they ſaid, lay a train for greater flatteries, but he ſo diſcreetly moderated his anſwers, that at the ſame time he appeared ſenſible of his true merit, without the leaſt ſymptom of arrogance or vain glory.

So when ſome lords came to condole the loſs of his brother, that they might comfort him, they turned the diſcourſe to a panegyric on himſelf, highly extolling the whole ſeries of his heroic performances; but looking on them with a ſtedfaſt gravity, and fetching a deep ſigh, he replied, "It is the opinion of the world that I am ſomething verſed in the affairs of war; it would be an ungrateful preſumption to oppoſe the public ſentiment; but I can aſſure you, there is nothing more certain than that much of my knowledge in this kind is owing to my deceaſed brother, who by rules taught me many advantageous improvements of martial diſcipline; and I learned not a little from his own examplary conduct."

Another remark they make is on the liberality of this general, and his contempt of riches; for he really impoveriſhed himſelf to reward and gratify his friends; it being a word very common in his mouth, "That he would live on the king's pay, and his friends ſhould live on his eſtate." Yet he was but a younger brother; which made

his wife often say, "That were it not for the king's money, her husband entertained such a retinue of noble beggars about him, that she feared both he and she must in a little time take up the same trade, and turn mendicants themselves."

It is credibly reported of this great man, that he set his heart so little on money as not to know one piece of coin from another, nor their different value in exchange.

Once he was heard to say these words to some of the nobles, who were discoursing on wealth, "I wonder (said he) what pleasure men can take in hoarding up great heaps of money: For my part, if at the end of the year I should find in my coffers a great treasure of gold left, it would nauseate me as much as if just when I had made a full dinner, I should be forced to sit still and glut myself by eating of the same dishes over again."

And that which is most to be admired is, that even in his old age, to which avarice is so natural, his purse was always open, and he gave away his money as liberally as in his youth; so that when he was dead, they could find no more than five hundred crowns in his keeping; besides he died much in debt, which he contracted on the army's account, that they should not want their pay in due season; but it is said the king either has discharged these debts, or will do it in a little time.

He was a man of no great presence, either for tallness or graceful features, being of an ordinary size, and heavy countenance, with a mien and air more like a citizen or a mechanic than a soldier, which justifies the old proverb, "That the face is not always the true index of the heart;" for all the world knows that he was a man of great resolution and bravery.

They attribute many of his victories to his regular and sage conduct, others to his fortune; whilst they cannot

deny that ſome were owing entirely to the force of his invincible courage.

It were eaſy to relate many inſtances of this kind; but I will not tire thy patience; my letter is already ſtretched beyond its deſigned limits, yet it comes far ſhort of reaching the character of this prince; however it would be invidious not to inform thee of all I know concerning him worth obſervation.

In the time of the civil wars, after he had abandoned the party of the malcontents, and was made general o one of the king's armies, he gave an admirable proof his undaunted valour; for when he had but three thouſand five hundred men with him, and thoſe in a manner hemmed in by fourteen thouſand of the rebels, ſo that there was but one paſs left whereby he might eſcape, and he was ſtrongly preſſed to make uſe of that advantage; "No, (ſays he) I will not any longer live to ſee my ſovereign ſhut out of his own cities; Orleans barred her gates againſt him, even whilſt the king's forces were entire, before they had received any loſs or defeat, and can we expect they will be any where more favourable to him, when they ſhall behold us flying from our victorious enemies? No, this fatal day ſhall either put a check to their ſucceſs, or give a period to my life." And the event anſwered his expectation; for he entered into battle with the Prince of Conde, and routed all his forces; ever ſince which he has done the French king ſo many eminent ſervices, as amply made amends for his two years revolt.

He is now gone to the other world, not as to a campaign, but to celebrate an eternal triumph among the famous heroes of the earth.

The king has, in honour of his merits, cauſed his body to be buried in the temple of St. Denis, where all

the blood-royal of France is repoſited, ſhowing in this how little difference he makes between him that ſits on the throne, and him that well ſupports it.

Illuſtrious Hamet, I pray Heaven inſpire the Sultan to reward thee and all his faithful miniſters and brave generals with particular honours, proportionate to every man's diſtinct merits and ſervices. Adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 9th Moon, of the year 1675.

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## III.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THERE happen many remarkable events in a year, which I cannot preſently tranſmit an account of for want of timely intelligence. My letters are often finiſhed and ſealed, and ſometimes ſent away before I hear of the taking of ſuch a city or ſtrong hold, of this victory on the French ſide, or that ſucceſs on the part of their enemies, the Germans, Spaniards, and Hollanders; and I do not think it worth while to trouble the miniſters of the Porte with an after-diſpatch, only to inform them of ſome ſiege, battle, or other petty occurrence, as oft as they come to my knowledge; chooſing rather to recapitulate in one letter at the end of the year all ſuch paſſages as were omitted before, that ſo my intelligence, however diſjointed and parcelled out into fragments, may yet at laſt be ſet together again, and made entire.

Thus the taking of Belligand in Rouſſillon from the Spaniards, by the Mareſchal de Schomberg, was not a matter of that importance as to deſerve a particular letter on purpoſe to keep time with action; yet it is convenient to inſert it in this ſummary of tranſactions omitted in my former letters, that ſo the Ottoman regiſter may not be

imperfect and defective. This fortreſs was taken about midſummer, after an intrenchment of ſeven days.

But fortune, though ſhe ſeems to have declared in favour of the French arms, yet, to ſhow her inconſtancy, ſometimes turns her ſmiles into frowns, and ſeems for a while to leave them in the lurch.

On the 11th of the 8th moon, there happened an accident at Treves, which occaſioned the loſs of that town to the confederate enemies of France, and a little clouded the glory of the Mareſchal de Crequi's arms, who had hitherto fought ſucceſsfully, and gained the reputation of a very wiſe and prudent general.

It ſeems the governor of Treves, whom they call the Sieur Vignory, had orders to come out of the town that very day, and join the Mareſchal de Crequi with five thouſand men of the garriſon, to put in execution ſome deſign they had upon the confederate forces, which lay not far off. The governor, in compliance with the order, was marching his men over a bridge, when his horſe ſuddenly ſtarting at the diſcharge of a piſtol, fell with his rider into the ditch, where they both periſhed. Now this unfortunate gentleman not having diſcovered his ſecret order to any perſon living, his lieutenant being ignorant of the deſign, and troubled at this unhappy accident, cauſed the five thouſand men to march back again into the town; in the mean time, the Mareſchal de Crequi in vain expected the coming of theſe recruits, and finding himſelf too weak to reſiſt the more numerous troops of his enemies, was forced to give way, whilſt they advanced to beſiege the town, the main thing which he aimed to prevent. In this ſtrait he had nothing elſe to do but to throw himſelf with his forces into the town, that ſo his preſence might ſupply the dead governor's place, till the king's pleaſure were known. He defend-

ed the place with much reſolution and bravery; but by the treachery of a certain captain belonging to the garriſon, it was at length taken, after abundance of bloodſhed. This traitor's name was Boſejourdan; he held a private correſpondence with the enemy, informed them of the diſadvantages the town lay under, corrupted ſeveral of the garriſon, and did all things that might facilitate the reduction of the place; for which he was deſervedly hanged, having been delivered into the hands of the French by thoſe who, though they made uſe of the treaſon, yet could not but abhor the traitor.

The Imperialiſts took courage upon this ſucceſs, and began to think that ſince the death of Mareſchal Turenne, fortune had abandoned the intereſt of France, and entered into the confederacy with them. Hereupon Count Montecuculi, on the 20th of the 8th moon, inveſted Haguenau, a ſtrong place in the hands of the French; but the approach of the Prince of Conde ſoon made him raiſe the ſiege; ſince which there has been little of action on either ſide, ſave the taking of Thuin, a town ſituated on the Sombre, and which commands all the country between that river and the Meuſe. It was ſurrendered to the French about the beginning of the 11th moon, on condition that the privileges of the inhabitants ſhould be preſerved, and that they ſhould not be forced to maintain the king's garriſon.

There have been lately ſome ſeditions in the provinces of Bretagne and Guienne, ſaid to be ſecretly abetted by the parliaments of Bourdeaux and Rennes; for which the king has ſignified his diſpleaſure, by removing thoſe aſſemblies to other places, after having inflicted ſevere and exemplary puniſhments on the ringleaders of the tumults.

And now this monarch ſeems to be weary of the fatigues of war, having publiſhed a manifeſto, wherein he

complains of the injury done to Prince William of Furſtemberg, plenipotentiary from the Biſhop of Cologne; declares that he had reaſon to ſhow his reſentments of an affront given to his ally contrary to the law of nations; that nevertheleſs he had laboured for the general peace of Chriſtendom, and was now in the ſame inclination: On which account he ſent the Sieur Colbert, maſter of the requeſts, and the Count d'Avaux to Nimeguen, there to aſſiſt at the conferences of peace.

Some ſay this propoſition to peace is the effect of a vow the king made, when he was lately afflicted with a violent fever. Be it how it will, the captains and ſoldiers on all ſides are agreed to ceaſe from acts of hoſtility during this cold ſeaſon, finding it much more comfortable to wallow in beds of down, than to lie abroad in the ſnow, and to lay cloſe ſiege to a good fire, than to campaign it in trenches full of water and ice.

Illuſtrious miniſter, I pray God make thee happy all the four ſeaſons of the year; but eſpecially to give thee his winter's bleſſing, a warm houſe, an agreeable bed-fellow, plenty of the gifts of Ceres and Bacchus, a merry heart, and a good ſtomach.

Paris, 7th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1675.

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## IV.—*To* Abdel Melic, Muli Omar, *Preſident of the College of Sciences at Fez.*

Thy packet came juſt now to my hands, in an hour of felicities, under a noble and propitious aſteriſm; the conſtellations above ſmile on Mahmut at this ſeaſon; a thouſand ſoft and ſerene pleaſures diſtil upon my ſoul; a pearl of heavenly dew ſits on every blooming thought; my heart

is like a garden in the mornings of an autumn ſolſtice, freſh and fragrant, though drooping for age.

I have ſpent the ſpring and ſummer of my life in error, ignorance, and vanity; it is time that I ſhould provide for the winter of my age a ſtock of ſolid wiſdom and virtue; and heaven, to ſhow its love and care of mortals, inſpired thee with the generous thoughts of aſſiſting me once more by thy ſage inſtructions. Thy diſpatch contains ſuch a ſcheme of philoſophy and reaſon as never can be refuted; thou art the Apollo of the age.

Glory be to God, majeſtic, living, and ſtrong, eternal father and ſource of lights, fountain of intellectual perfections, original treaſury of reaſon, with whom remain from everlaſting ages the ideas of all things paſt, preſent, and to come, the patterns of things viſible and inviſible, the examplers of every thing that has, had, ſhall, or can have exiſtence in the univerſe: Bleſſed be the Word and Breath of God, the Spirit of life and underſtanding, which in the determined periods of time enters into holy ſouls, making them the favourites of the Moſt High and prophets.

That ſpirit deſcends ſometimes, and on ſome perſons, like a gentle ſhower in harveſt, but on thee it pours down like the rivers from paradiſe, in vaſt and mighty cataracts; wiſdom overflows thy ſoul as the Nile; the ſtreams thereof are ſtrong and rapid as the currents of Tigris and Euphrates; rich and inebriating as the waters of Jordan; thy mind is covered with a deluge of ſcience.

O immarceſſible wiſdom! bleſſed is the man that has thee for his portion in this life! The gold has no value or beauty when compared with thee; the diamond and ſapphire fade and look dull; and the choiceſt pearls of the Orient loſe their luſtre in thy preſence. Doubtleſs wiſdom ſhines for ever, and is incorruptible; it is a pure re-

ſplendent eſſence flowing from the eternal glory, a ſincere emanation from the divine nature, the ſpotleſs mirror of God, wherein he beholds his own immortal excellencies; it is ten thouſand times more ſerene than the light itſelf, brighter than the ſun, purer than the ſky, and more ſparkling than all the hoſt of the ſtars; the glittering crowd of angels are eclipſed in her preſence, and all the radiant orders of the bleſſed above ſerve but as foils to ſet forth her ſuperlative and all-penetrating coruſcations.

God brought her forth from the womb of his unfathomable depth; ſhe ſprung from the treaſures which cannot be exhauſted; in the morning of the world ſhe rouſed the benumbed chaos with her efficacious beams; her energy gave life and form to the confuſed and dark abyſs; ſhe ſhines from one extremity of the univerſe to another, illuminating infinite ſpaces; ſhe is a refulgent circle of light, whoſe centre is every where, but whoſe circumference is not to be found.

Aſk thoſe who pitch their pavilions above all worlds, the outlying camps of the Omnipotent, who guard the frontiers of the bliſsful regions, and walk the rounds of our remoteſt heaven, the cœlum empyræum, to fire its beacons on the diſcovery of any foreign invaſion threatened by ſome new upſtart republic of beings, hatched in the cold and frozen climates of the endleſs expanſe; aſk theſe, I ſay, whether they ever could trace the eternal wiſdom in her flights, or find the ſolitary haunts of everlaſting reaſon? They may purſue the glorious chaſe over the untraced waſtes of the unlimited, unformed, firſt matter, as well as through the fenced fields and parks, the incloſed land-marked grounds of this known world; but all in vain; there is no catching what is infinite; the wings of all created fancies are too ſhort and weak; the cherubims themſelves and ſeraphims are far too ſlow to ſeize ſo

ſwift a prey; wiſdom is wild as chance, concealed as nature, yet fixed as deſtiny.

She dwells beyond the higheſt heavens; her throne is inacceſſible, yet ſhe fills all things with her preſence; ſhe ſought for a place of repoſe on earth among the ſons of men; ſhe traverſed the nations by land, and viſited the iſles of the ſea; ſhe deſcended into the abyſſes below, and made her ſcrutiny in the horrid caverns of the globe; at length ſhe found her reſt in Abraham, and pitched her habitation in Iſmael, becauſe it was ſo determined of old from ſempiternal ages, and recorded in the archives of fate. She was eſtabliſhed in Mecca, the birth-place of the prophet, and her power is rooted in Medina Telnabi, the place of his burial; the holy cities are ennobled by her preſence, and ſhe ſhines in the midſt of an honourable race, an offſpring born to glory, a renowned people, a ſanctified progeny, a generation of worthies, a family of heroes, a lineage whereon reſts the favours and ſmiles of the Omnipotent.

Oh, Arabia! well mayeſt thou be called the Happy, ſince in thee is the ſeat of the eternal ſapience. Go mourn, ye mountains of Judea! and all ye deſolate valleys of Paleſtine! for the dew and the rain have forſaken you. Your ſoil languiſhes for want of moiſture, and your glebe is dried up; your trees wither and fade; neither does the ground bring forth any graſs or flowers; the paſtures are become like a wilderneſs, over-run with briars and thorns, and your arable fields are as the Lybian waſtes, barren and unprofitable. The land that was once called holy, is now become execrable, a habitation of ſatyrs and and demons, becauſe wiſdom has tranſlated her reſidence from Sion, and the angels have decamped from the climate of Jeruſalem.

Rejoice, O regions bordering on the eaſt of the Red

Sea! for with you is a great light, even the law brought down from heaven, and the glory of the Moſt High overſhadows you.

Wiſdom is exalted in Arabia; ſhe lifts up her head above the top of Mount Uriel; ſhe flouriſhes like the palm-tree, and ſpreads her boughs as the terebinth; many nations reſt under the ſhadow of her wide-ſpread branches; her ways are uniform and beautiful, like an alley of cypreſſes, and all her paths are ſweet as a garden of cinnamon, myrrh, and roſes; her fruit feeds the Eaſt and the South; her ſalutiferous leaves are ſcattered from India to the land of the Moors, where thou dwelleſt; her fragrant odour is diffuſed from pole to pole.

She is the mother of ſcience and virtue; in her cuſtody are the ſprings of life and health, of honour and riches; ſhe has in her treaſures locked up innumerable kinds of felicities, which ſhe plentifully pours forth on them that obey her inſpirations; ſhe appears cheerfully to them that wait upon her, and no man ever departed from her preſence but he fell into ſadneſs; for a certain enlivening influence flows from her countenance; a man is raviſhed with her converſation; her breath is ſweeter than ambroſia, or the vapour of eaſtern incenſe; her thoughts are fragrant as the aromatic exhalations of nardus, onyx, and ſtacte; all words are too ſhort to expreſs her praiſes, neither is there any ſtyle or language that can deſcribe her incomparable worth; therefore, with reverence I deſiſt from ſaying any more at this time on ſo ſublime a ſubject, leſt while I am prolonging the panegyric of wiſdom, I proclaim my own folly to a ſage who is familiar with her, and beſt knows her character.

In the mean time, vouchſafe to accept of theſe lines as a teſtimony of the profound veneration I have for thee, who art known through all Afric and other parts of the

world to be one of the firſt rank among wiſdom's favourites.

Adieu, great lamp of Mauritania, and believe that Mahmut is no flatterer.

Paris, 19th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1676.

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V.—*To the* CAPTAIN BASSA.

If I write often to the baſſas of the land, I do not forget the duty I owe to him of the ſea; only that element has not been the ſtage of ſo many remarkable actions as the other; there are no forts, caſtles, or ſtrong cities built upon the waves; no ſettled camps, or formal ſieges, unleſs it be upon the frozen ſeas within or near the Arctic circle, and there they only imitate the trade of war to exerciſe their youth.

However, on the other parts of the ocean there are flying campaigns, battles en paſſant; and this year has afforded ſome marine engagements between the French, Hollanders, and Spaniards, not altogether unworthy of thy knowledge.

On the 8th of the 1ſt moon, there happened a naval fight between the Sieur de Quеſne, lieutenant-general of the French fleets, and De Ruiter, vice-admiral of the Dutch, wherein the latter ſuffered conſiderable damage; but far greater was their loſs on the 2d of the fourth moon following, when the famous de Ruiter was killed, and ſeveral of the Dutch ſhips ſunk, burnt, and taken. Yet that which makes the greateſt noiſe, was a battle fought on the 2d of this preſent moon, between the Mareſchal de Vivonne, commander of the French fleet on the coaſt of Sicily, and the united naval forces of Spain and Holland.

I have a particular account of this combat, and becauſe I know thou delighteſt in relations of this nature, I will acquaint thee in ſhort, how they firſt encountered each other, and what methods the French uſed to gain a glorious victory over two fleets much more numerous in ſhips than their own.

It was not far from the old dangerous ſtrait between Charybdis and Scylla, where the Duke de Vivonne deſcried the hoſtile navies making toward the place where he lay with his fleet at anchor: The alarm was quickly given, and all hands to the cable: As ſoon as they had weighed, they made all the ſail they could towards the enemy: The Spaniards and Hollanders had ſeven-and-twenty ſhips of war, nineteen galleys, and four fire-ſhips; the French had but nineteen ſhips of war, ſeven galleys, and five fire-ſhips. Theſe got the wind of their enemies, and attacked them ſo fiercely, that they drove ſeveral of their capital veſſels on thoſe dangerous rocks and ſands, where they were loſt; and they burnt thirteen more of their beſt ſhips, among which were the admiral of Spain, and the vice-admiral of Holland.

I ceaſe to ſay more of this remarkable fight, ſave that it is eſteemed only ſecond to the famous battle of Lepanto.

Prince of the ſea, I wiſh thee equal ſucceſs whenever thou fighteſt againſt the enemies of God and his prophet.

Paris, 14th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1676.

## VI.—*To the Sage of Sages, the Myſterious Eremite, the Great* MOHAMMED *of Mount Uriel in Arabia.*

THERE is no man in this mortal life who has not changed his opinions one time or other; and whether it be an argument of wiſdom or folly, knowledge or ignorance, to be thus mutable in our thoughts, we find few tenacious in their old age of the notions they entertained in their youth.

We have ſome natural and proleptic ideas born with us, others impoſed upon us by our parents, nurſes, and tutors; our infant fancies are tender, flexible, and receptive of any impreſſions, like gold that yields to every ſtamp, and coin of a new ſovereign. So in the mint of human converſation, our thoughts are moulded and formed by each prevailing genius that keeps us company; nay, a new book that we have an inclination for, ſhall quite obliterate all that before was current reaſon with us, and transform our faculties into another figure; ſo true it is that mankind delights in novelty.

Whether it be an effect of this general weakneſs in human nature, or of my own particular inconſtancy, or, in fine, of more correct and mature conſideration, I will not determine; but this I am ſure of, that I cannot think now of ſeveral things as I have done formerly, without offering great violence to my preſent reaſon. I am as apt now to ſuſpect myſelf of dotage at theſe years as other men are inclined to flatter themſelves into a conceit of their own wiſdom, and to boaſt of it to others at the ſame age; however, it appears evident to me, that every man's experience perfects his ſpeculations; and he who traffics in the mart of philoſophy on the ſtock of his own diſcoveries, is in a fairer way to improve himſelf than a man

that trades altogether on the credit of other men's conceptions.

The latter is but wiſdom's factor, or he may be called a broker in the ſciences, or a banker of other men's imaginations; he frequents the common exchange, or burſe, of learning; reads the books of the ancients; converſes with the wits and moſt accompliſhed ſpirits of the preſent age; yet after all, he has but a retail profit; nor ſhall he ever have better, ſo long as he dares not venture ſomething of his own.

Whereas the former is a rich ſubſtantial merchant dealing on his own bottom; he ventures on the wide ocean of the world's peeviſh cenſorious humour; runs the hazard of ſhipwreck, and corſairs; the winds and ſtorms of human malice do not fright him, nor all the rocks of ſuperſtition, eſtabliſhed by the laws of nations; no ſands or ſhelves, or any undermining private intereſt, can baulk his courage, whilſt he has the gales of truth and tide of primitive reaſon on his ſide; for then he knows the common fortune will be his pilot, and ſteer him ſafe through all.

From what I have ſaid, thou wilt expect ſome new refined theſis to drop from my pen, ſome very ſolid dogma to be broached, after ſuch a tedious prelude; but I tell thee plainly I hardly know what I am to write next, ſave only that I have ſome general notions different from what I had before, concerning the eternity of the world.

It was formerly my opinion, and I paſſed it upon all my friends, that not only the matter of the world is everlaſting, but its preſent form alſo; but now I believe the contrary, on more rational grounds. It is not ſo perfect as I eſteemed it; every year of my life convinces me of its decaying ſtate; it manifeſtly droops and crumbles away; therefore, by proportion of argument we

ought to conclude, "It is corruptible in its firſt principles, and conſequently had a beginning, and ſhall have an end."

I do not believe it ſhall be annihilated or reduced to nothing; nature abhors that thought; but it ſhall be changed, metamorphoſed, and transformed. *Una dies dabit exitio*, One day ſhall conſign it to ruin, as Lucretius ſays; and the ſame ſhall give it a brighter form than ever it had, when the earth ſhall become pure cryſtal, and the ſtars ſhall outſhine the ſun, and the ſun himſelf ſhall be diſſolved into his eternal principles of light. The philoſophers who have ſpoke of the laſt day, agree that the world ſhall be calcined by fire, eſpecially thoſe of the Eaſt and South; for they poſitively aſſert, "That when the moiſture of the univerſe ſhall be exhauſted and ſpent, the elements will pour forth flames," ſays Hermes Triſmegiſtus; a treaſury of fire, ſays Sophocles *; and Ovid aſſerts that the ſeas ſhall be dried up, and all the firmament ſhall appear like a furnace; heaven and earth ſhall be mingled pell-mell together; the Greeks ſay, the world ſhall boil up and ſcum off its impurities, ῥοιζηδὸν, with a noiſe like that of a tempeſt or a whirlwind; the Italians expreſs it otherwiſe, by the ſound a clock makes juſt before it ſtrikes the hour; for it moves in an even and regular courſe, and has a ſteady pulſe till then; but when the laſt minute is expired, the wheels ruſh all together with a louder noiſe; ſo ſhall the orbs above, and theſe inferior elements, when their courſe is done, break all their harmony, and with confuſed cracks and rattlings diſgorge their eſſences into the lap of their eternal chaos, there to be renewed and changed again into far nobler forms, although the original ſubſtance ſtill remains the ſame; for I believe the firſt matter to be unchangeable

* Πυρὸς δηναυδὸν. Scribitur in fatis, &c.

and eternal, without beginning or end. But there have paſſed many millions of ages, in the production of ſuch an infinite variety of forms; perhaps the grounds of aſtrology are true, and that there were of old certain periods of time affixed, firſt for the product of the heavenly ſigns and conſtellations, then for the planets, and afterwards for the nativity of all the other beings below the moon. But Moſes, the lawgiver and chief philoſopher of the Jews, is of a contrary judgment; for he ſays, the vegetables had exiſtence before the ſtars: And ſo one does not know what to think among them all. For ought I know, any man's reaſon might be received with as much applauſe as that of Moſes, who ſhould aſſert, "That there are certain horſes formed of the pureſt light, galloping up and down the infinite expanſe for an indeterminate ſeries of ages, the duſt of whoſe feet firſt raiſed the elements out of nothing, and then their hoofs ſtriking againſt the original flints of nature, begat the ſparks which ſhall ſet the world a-fire at laſt." And God knows whether the late conflagration at the imperial city was not owing to a ſcratch of one of thoſe horſes nails, though they are pleaſed to lay it on the gnafres and kyſilbaſchi.

By my ſoul, I believe all things proceed from eternal chance. All that we admire ſo much in the world, is a mere higgledy-piggledy of things which may be, or may not be, only they are; and ſo we muſt not quarrel with any thing that has exiſtence. We behold the ſun, moon, and ſtars over our heads; they give us their ſucceſſive light by night and day; we trample upon the earth under our feet, and ſail on the open ſea, to which we can give no great truſt; at the ſame time, we know not the natures of theſe different beings; the ſun may be but an eternal carbuncle, for ought we know, and the moon but

a creſted ſapphire, the reſt of the planets but the refractions of theſe bright eſſences, and all the fixed ſtars, but ſo many ſplinters of the eternal torch which lights the world; and after all the reſt, this earth whereon we tread may be but a wart or mole, a little ſilly excreſcence or ſuperfluous tumor of the elements, if not a gangrene in nature.

Oh Mohammed! I have ſaid too much to a man of thy abſtruſe ſpeculations, but thou wilt pardon one that ſpeaks with faith and ſincerity.

Let me put in one word more with thee, Oh, chief of the ſolitaries! prince of the ſylvans! glory of Arabia! thou hidden one of the Eaſt! thou phœnix of all generations! Nobody was born for himſelf; nobody is wiſe at all times; and this is a particular ſeaſon wherein the Grand Signior's ſervice requires me to be, as it were, a little fooliſhly merry. Therefore, begging thy pardon and prayers, I bid thee adieu.

Paris, 13th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1676.

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VII.—*To* Pesteli Hali, *his Brother, Maſter of the Cuſtoms, and Superintendant of the Arſenal at Conſtantinople.*

It will do thee no hurt to carry the following news to Hamet Reis Effendi: I intrench on the poſt's time and my own health, it being very late in the night, on purpoſe that the miniſters of the Porte may have the earlieſt account of the taking of Philipſburgh from the French, by the confederate princes and ſtates.

This is a town of great importance, and very ſtrong: The Spaniards became maſters of it in the year 1633, through the treachery of the governor; next year follow-

ing, the Swedes put it again in the French king's hands, but that monarch not being able to repair its fortifications, by reaſon of the winter, it was ſurpriſed by the Imperialiſts on the 23d of the firſt moon 1635, in whoſe hands it remained till the year 1644, when in the 9th moon it was taken by the Duke Enguien, now Prince of Conde, after he routed the Duke of Bavaria at Fribourg. The French have had it in poſſeſſion ever ſince that time, till about four days ago it was ſurrendered, upon conditions, to the Imperialiſts, who had blocked it up above a year, and formally beſieged it four moons.

It is a loſs which this court reſents with no ſmall grief, Philipſburgh being a town of more value than twenty others in thoſe parts. The French have taken Conde, Bouchain, and Aire, but they do not think theſe an equivalent repriſal; neither can this campaign laſt long enough to give them an opportunity of ſeeking farther ſatisfaction.

Brother, I muſt conclude abruptly, becauſe the poſt tarries. God have thee in his keeping, and preſerve thee from the ſnares and malicious ambuſcades of devils, who are let looſe from their infernal dens to range above ground from this hour to the crowing of the cocks.

Paris, 12th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1676.

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## VIII.—*To* Sephat, Abercromil, Vanni, Effendi, *Preacher to the Sultan.*

About five years ago I ſent thee a diſpatch, containing an account of the kind reception thy doctrines found in Europe, and of the ſwift progreſs they made in converting the honeſter ſort of Nazerenes; I alſo acquainted thee with the oppoſition that was made againſt the writ-

ings of Francis Malevella, by the Jeſuits and Dominicans; now I ſhall inform thee farther of the prodigious advances this ſacred inſtitution of life has made in Italy, France, and Spain, with Germany, and other regions in the Weſt.

There is an eminent man in Rome, whom they call Father Petrucci, a perſon of great learning and conſpicuous knowledge; his piety indeed has been by him induſtriouſly concealed, as much as lay in his power, but yet his moſt recluſe good works took air, and all men of integrity conceive a veneration for him. He having read the works of Malevella, grew enamoured of ſo ſublime a ſyſtem of ſpiritual rules, and wrote to all his friends, by way of recommendation of the author and his ſubject; thoſe letters afterwards were put in print, and it is not to be expreſſed what powerful influence they had on all impartial readers. He publiſhed alſo many learned treatiſes, in the defence and praiſe of a contemplative life; and the reputation of this refined theology daily increaſed, and ſpread abroad in every corner of the Chriſtian world.

Among the reſt of learned proſelytes, a certain Spaniſh prieſt, and doctor of the Chriſtian law, whom they call Michael de Molino, appeared upon the ſtage; and in the year 1675 publiſhed a comprehenſive treatiſe of myſtical religion. The book was approved and licenſed by the archbiſhop of Rheggio, by the general of the Franciſcans, an officer of the Inquiſition, and by Martin de Eſparſa, an eminent jeſuit belonging to the ſame court, and profeſſor of theology at Rome. The preſs had no ſooner delivered this myſterious treatiſe to the world, but every body catched it up; ſo that the firſt edition being ſoon diſperſed in Rome, Ferrara, Naples, and other cities of Italy, it was neceſſary to ſtart a new impreſſion of ſo acceptable a thing, that the remaining provinces, ſtates,

and principalities, might not want their ſhare of ſo divine a copy; that Spain might be reformed by one of her own natives; and generous France, forgetting her averſions, might not diſdain the ſage inſtructions of a hated Spaniard. In a word, Molino's book is had in ſecond veneration with the goſpel; his friendſhip is coveted by the greateſt men in Rome, eſpecially the ſecular clergy are ambitious to confirm the honours, dignities, and benefices they already poſſeſs in the church, by gaining the favour of his acquaintance; they conſult him as an oracle in knotty problems of divinity; and many cardinals court his correſpondence, not valuing their rank in the red liſt of eccleſiaſtical princes, unleſs they are alſo enrolled in the happy number of Molino's friends; ſuch are Carpegna, Azolini, Caſſanta, Odeſcalchi, and the French Cardinal d' Eſtrees.

This laſt is famous for his learning and accompliſhments, being educated in the Sorbonne, and a familiar of Monſieur De Launay, a great reformer of errors in the doctrine and diſcipline of the Roman church. Being thus prediſpoſed to favour any one who would expoſe himſelf to ſtem the torrent of corruptions, the tide of vain and ſuperſtitious practices advancing daily higher and higher, and threatening to overflow the banks of ſolid piety, ſincere devotion, and all moral virtue, the generous cardinal appeared the public patron of Molino, and in private they had many conferences. The Spaniard laid aſide his native jealouſy of foreigners, and the Frenchman mortified his pique againſt that nation; they both converſed with openneſs of heart, and unreſerved freedom.

The cardinal alſo, after this, brought him acquainted with ſeveral eminent men in France, between whom and Molino was held a ſtrict intelligence. The new pope, who was before called Cardinal Odeſcalchi, has given him

an apartment in his own palace, and done him many other honours; in a word, he is grown ſo conſiderable, that the greateſt part of the Nazarenes look upon him as a prophet ſent from God.

I take complacency to ſee Mahometaniſm thus maſquerade it in the heart of Chriſtendom, and the moſt refined draught of our religion copied in the lives and practices of the moſt excellent among the Nazarenes. It is a fair ſign, methinks, that by degrees they will inquire a little farther, and with more humility, into our ſacred law, that they will not ſtumble at circumciſion, waſhing, and other purifications and ceremonies appointed by the prophet, ſince they are all performed in honour of the Eternal Unity, and not to images or pictures. However, at leaſt, ſuch pious and contemplative men as theſe, will, by a neceſſary conſequence, raiſe up a ſecret faction for us, and qualify the bitter zeal and ſpite which Chriſtians generally bear againſt the true believers; for the followers of Malevella, Petrucci, and Molino, are already branded, and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Nazarenes by the odious name of heretics, which is next door to the more opprobrious title of infidels, the beſt and kindeſt epithet they can afford the faithful muſſulmans.

To ſum up all in brief, they reckon an hundred thouſand of this new ſect in Italy, as many more in France and Spain, and not much fewer in Germany, beſides Poland, Hungary, and other regions; ſo that if an army of muſſulmans ſhould appear on the Italian ſhores with Vani Effendi at the head of them, and a declaration ſhould be ſpread about, containing that you aim at nothing but to propagate the truth, and to protect the injured moliniſts or quietiſts (for ſo they nickname this contemplative ſect), they would all riſe and fly to the Ma-

hometan ſtandard, as formerly the malcontents of Italy did to the aſylum of Romulus. God's will be done.

Paris, 2d of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1676.

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IX.—*To* MIRMADOLIN, *Sultone of the Vale of Sidon.*

BLESSED are they who honour the virtues of holy men, and ſtrive to imitate their examples. The infidels count them mad whom the great lord of all things has inſpired with his love, which is the ſpirit or breath of the Omnipotent, giving life to all things; their ſouls are ſnatched away in ſacred ecſtacies; they are carried to the bright ſhining worlds, borne up on the wings of a wind from paradiſe; they behold marvellous things, and the wonders of the ſky; wafted from ſtar to ſtar, they are raviſhed with the ſight of ſo many radiant ſplendours, and expire in tranſports of divine pleaſure, when they conſider the beautiful economy of the univerſe.

O Ariel! chief of the choirs above, who ſetteſt the tunes of the ſpheres, and art maſter of the eternal muſic; who taughteſt Sultan David to play on the harp, and and learnedſt him the ſongs of paradiſe! ſend down ſome azured meſſenger, ſome purpled poſt from Eden, to inſpire my ſoul with divine harmonies, whilſt I celebrate the praiſes of Alla, the firſt and the laſt, whoſe glory is expanded through the infinite abyſs, and enlightens endleſs ſpaces. The whole univerſe is full of his majeſty, but the place of his retirement is above the heaven of heavens; there he keeps his court, guarded by ſeventy times ſeven millions of angels, who always ſtand on their watch to prevent the invaſions of Oroſmades the prince of darkneſs, the root and ſource of all evil.

God came from heaven in the days of Moſes, with an

army not to be numbered; Michael was his ſtandard-bearer, whoſe chariot was a carbuncle of paradiſe; they marched through the milky way, and made their deſcent on the rock of the deſart Sinai; the artillery of the celeſtial hoſt was thunder and lightning; they were encompaſſed with thick clouds of ſmoke; the world was affrighted at the dreadful noiſe, and Oroſmades durſt not appear to abide the battle, but fled into the caverns of the earth with all his legions, where they are barred up to the day of judgment; they often ſtrive to break looſe, which occaſions horrid earthquakes, but the chain which binds them is faſtened to the throne of God; he keeps the keys of thoſe infernal priſons, and bars up all the avenues of hell; there darkneſs, horror, and pain have taken up their reſidence for ever; one abyſs ſupplies another with eternal floods of confuſion and miſery; but above the ſurface of the earth he has eſtabliſhed light, liberty, joy, and peace, to them that revolt not from his love and obedience.

God came from Arval, and the holy one was ſeen to fly from the thickets of Schair in the Eaſt; he bent his courſe towards the Red Sea, and pitched his tents in the meridian of Mecca. On that day the kebla was turned towards the South, and the faces of the faithful, in time of prayer, regarded the houſe of Abraham, the ſquare temple, and the place appointed by deſtiny for the tomb of the prophet. Then Medina Telnabi became bright and illuſtrious; the glory of Jeruſalem faded, and was eclipſed at the dawning ſplendour of this new ſanctuary, a city ennobled by the preſence of deputies from heaven, even Gabriel and Iſraphiel, who came down to viſit the determined place of the prophet's reſt.

They brought with them rules and models of divine architecture, that the dormitory of the meſſenger of God

might be majeſtic and glorious. They diſcloſed their errand to Zaphid and Al-Kepher, two cunning artificers in the city, and ſhowed them the celeſtial pattern of the ſepulchre; theſe kept ſecret the matter till the time was accompliſhed which the angels enjoined them; then they declared themſelves, and undertook the building of a fabric, which has rendered Medina famous throughout the world.

Oh Medina Telnabi! how ſweet is thy name among the muſſulmans! The roads of Aſia and Africe are covered with the caravans of ſuch as bring preſents unto thee, the devout pilgrims who travel from far to kiſs the pavement of the temple where the bones of our divine lawgiver are repoſited.

I ſaw the elephants and dromedaries of the Eaſt with joy bow down and couch to the earth, while ſacred burdens were laid on their backs; the camels alſo of the ſouth of Egypt, and the land of Moors; they performed the ſacred pilgrimage with humility and reſignation; they faſted four, five, ten, or fourteen days each, as they were able, in token of their devotion and thankfulneſs, in that they were permitted the honour of viſiting the holy region, and the ſepulchre of him who taught the dumb beaſts the diſcipline of wiſdom, and the way to paradiſe.

Ever ſince that time the animal generations have inſtructed each other in the precepts of the prophet who could neither write nor read; in their mute language they perform morning and evening the appointed oriſons, and preach to their young ones by inarticulate ſounds the doctrines of faith clear and intelligible.

Oh Mohammed! every letter of thy myſterious name is full of benediction and praiſe; each ſyllable is compounded of ſecrets not to be revealed till the conſumma-

tion of all things; thou art a treaſury of wonders which cannot be exhauſted or valued.

I heard the eaſtern wind record thy praiſes on a flute, whilſt gentle zephyrs blew ſoft vocal harmonies, wherein were often celebrated the glorious names of Mahomet and Hali; to theſe great Boreas joined in concert with his deep-lunged organ, ſweetened in counter-tenor by the ſouthern wind; they whiſtled, ſung, and played in parts, till all the younger ſons of Æolus came in to fill the choir; then was the muſic loud and ſhrill; it awakened all the woods and foreſts on the earth; the trees and all the vegetable race ſtruck up in uniſon with the winds, the birds put in their cheerful notes, the ſtreams and rivers murmured grateful airs, the ſea raiſed up her billows to the clouds, whilſt jovial tritons ſounded high levets of marine, anſwered in verſe by rumbling timbrels of the ſky; there was an univerſal joy and rant; nature herſelf was in a frolic, and kept holiday.

Why did the Moſt High decamp from Arval, and the Eternal remove his reſidence from Schair in the Eaſt? Why did he cauſe his armies to lie down in the South, and his pavilions to cover the regions of Mecca? Doubtleſs he did all this in honour of the law which he ſent from heaven, and of the birth-place of his favourite, that all nations might know and confeſs, "That there is but one God, and Mahomet his apoſtle." The beaſts of the earth acknowledge this, the fowls alſo of the air, and the fiſh of the ſea; the elements and inanimate beings are ſenſible of a joy which they cannot expreſs, and the univerſe is all diſſolved in rapture, whilſt it lies ſtretched out at large, unfolded into endleſs ſkirts, and reſts for ever on the all-propping Unity.

Mirmadolin, I am part of the univerſe, and therefore cannot but be touched with a ſenſe of the bliſs which at

certain ſeaſons tranſports the whole. Thou who art always in a divine ecſtacy, wilt not wonder at the ſhort enthuſiaſms of thy ſlave Mahmut, who covets nothing more ambitiouſly than to imitate thy blameleſs life.

Farewell, in God; for we cannot be out of him, ſo long as we are in ourſelves.

Paris, 17th of the 2d Mooſt, of the Year 1677.

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## X.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE French are reſolved to make bold eſſorts this campaign, to repair the loſs of Philipſburgh, which was taken from them laſt yeár; the king is impatient of any check given to the progreſs of his arms, and ſpares neither men nor money to keep up the reputation and fame of a conqueror; and if this character (grown familiar to to him, as it were, by preſcription, after a long and almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of victories), happen at any time to be leſſened by ſome unſucceſsful attempt upon the enemy, he cannot be at reſt till he has recovered it again by ſuch renewed exploits as may be anſwerable to the greatneſs of his ſoul, and the formidable puiſſance of his ſword, known to all Europe.

He has many and great armies in pay; and whether it be an effect of his fortune or his judgment, it is obſerved that he is always bleſſed with the ableſt generals in Chriſtendom.

The firſt thing he enterpriſed was the ſiege of Valenciennes, a city ſeated on the frontiers of the Spaniſh Netherlands, a very important place, and conſiderable for its commerce, inhabited alſo by a ſtout warlike people, and of very difficult acceſs, by reaſon of a certain river, with whoſe waters they can at pleaſure drown all

the country round about. It was inveſted by the Duke of Luxemburgh on the 28th of the 2d moon, and formally beſieged on the 4th of the 3d; on the 17th there was a general aſſault given, and the French entered the town, which ſo terrified the inhabitants, that they threw themſelves upon the king's mercy; he accepted their ſubmiſſions, and ſo put a ſtop to the common violence in ſuch caſes.

Another time this had been enough to have crowned a whole campaign, and ſatisfied the ambition of the French generals, but now the remembrance of laſt year's loſs and diſgrace ſpurs them on to new revenges; and to convince the world that this monarch is not eaſily to be daunted, but that he is jealous of his glory, he has, ſince the taking of Valenciennes, beſieged two ſtrong cities, Cambray and St. Omers.

The former of theſe is eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt places in all Flanders; it is ſituated on the river Eſcaut, and was the ancient patrimony of the French crown ever ſince the reign of Clodion II. King of France, who made himſelf maſter of it in the year 445 of the Chriſtians hegira; afterwards it fell to the ſhare of Charles the Bald in the year 843, and in the year 870 it became the occaſion of a war between the Kings of France, the Emperors, and the Counts of Flanders, in which conteſt one of the Baldwins got it, and left it to his ſon; but Charles V. overreached him, and by means of the biſhop's correſpondence took poſſeſſion of the place; he put a ſtrong garriſon in it, and built a citadel, which rendered the town almoſt impregnable. In proceſs of time it fell into the hands of the Duke of Alanſon, brother to Henry III., when he was made Count of Flanders, in the year 1582; but in the year 1595 the Spaniards took it, and have held it ever ſince, till the 6th of

the 4th moon of this preſent year, when the gates were ſet open to let in the French troops, and on the 17th the citadel was ſurrendered upon articles.

As for St. Omers, it is a great city, and well fortified, having on one ſide the river Aa, with its marſhes, and on the other being defended by a caſtle, flanked with good baſtions, and encompaſſed with an extreme broad and deep ditch. About the beginning of this moon it was inveſted by the French king's forces, and within three or four days it was formally beſieged, but not gained without a bloody combat, fought between the French and the Prince of Orange, who came with a conſiderable army, deſigning to throw ſuccours into the place. I will not trouble thee by reciting all the particulars of the fight; only be aſſured, that the French got the victory, put the others to flight, remained maſters of the field, took thirteen pieces of cannon, ſeventeen ſtandards, all the enemy's baggage, and almoſt three thouſand priſoners.

The ſtage of this great action was a place called Mont Caſſel, not far from St. Omers; a ſpot of ground obſerved to have once before been propitious to the French arms, when Philip of Valois fought there with the Spaniards, and gave them an entire defeat. He was reckoned the valianteſt prince of that age.

The inhabitants of St. Omers, hearing of the defeat that was given to the Prince of Orange, were in ſo great a conſternation, that in a few days they voluntarily ſurrendered to the French king.

Illuſtrious kaimacham, this puiſſant monarch takes ſuch wiſe methods, as thou wilt ſay cannot fail in the ordinary courſe of war to bring him ſucceſs; he is an excellent paymaſter, and never gives occaſion for his ſoldiers to repine or murmur for want of their daily allowance, nor puts them upon impatient expectations of their

arrears; on the contrary, he is very munificent and liberal to all men of merit; and the meaneſt ſoldier who ſignaliſes himſelf by any notable exploit or action of bravery, is ſure to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by ſome royal reward in money, if he be not advanced to the dignity of a commander, and ſometimes they are honoured with both. This conduct makes his men fight like lions, each being emulous of his fellows, and all freely hazarding their lives to gain their maſter's eſteem, counting that the moſt glorious poſt which is moſt expoſed to danger.

He is ſevere to thoſe provinces and towns which refuſe to ſubmit to his arms, and full of clemency to ſuch as willingly embrace his government.

In a word, his donatives and largeſſes to his own, his condeſcenſions, and the immunities he gives to others, together with the exactneſs of his juſtice to all, to facilitate the progreſs of his arms, increaſe his conqueſts, and render him the greateſt prince in the weſtern parts.

Sage miniſter, I kiſs the hem of thy veſt, and with humble obeiſance retire from thy preſence.

Paris, 29th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1677.

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## XI.—*To* Hamet, Reis Effendi, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

The love of women is natural to our ſex, and there is no man who at one time or other has not felt the warmths of this amorous paſſion; but it is ſtrange to obſerve after what a different manner this flame diſcovers itſelf in people of various nations, ages, qualities, fortunes, and conſtitutions; young men are laſcivious and ardent in their love; old men are ridiculous and formal;

the poor man ſtudies to pleaſe his miſtreſs by abject ſubmiſſions and humble obſequiouſneſs; the rich ſtrives to win her by munificent gifts and preſents; the vulgar make their court by feaſting the coy damſel, and regaling her with junkets and wine; the noble entertain her with plays, maſquerades, ballets, and other pompous divertiſements.

The ingenious Italian ſets upon his miſtreſs with a kind of poliſhed wantonneſs, not making romantic, whining addreſſes, but with a refined impudence, his eyes, his hands, his tongue, and all his actions ſoon make her ſenſible where his pain lies; he celebrates her praiſes in verſe, and hires muſic to ſerenade her; finally, he never leaves till he gains her, or revenges himſelf on his rival, by ſending him out of the world, and on her, by turning all his compliments into curſes and ſlanders; but if he gets her, he ſhuts her up for ever, and makes her chamber her priſon.

The headſtrong Spaniard, burning with deſire, and impatient of delay, ſtung with reſtleſs concupiſcence, behaves himſelf like a madman; he ſtamps, ſtares, and raves, walks furiouſly backward and forward, rolls his eyes after a hideous manner; he ſtarts, ſtands ſtill, lays his hand upon his ſword, looks up to Heaven, invokes the ſaints, talks to himſelf, threatens the diſſolution of all things, if he be baulked of his love; in this humour he runs to his miſtreſs, falls at her feet, makes doleful and paſſionate complaints, throws himſelf upon her mercy, adores her, and does all things which are proper for a deſperate lover; if by theſe means he enjoys her, he ſoon grows weary of her, and either kills her, or proſtitutes her ſecretly for gold; but if he cannot obtain her, then he macerates and torments himſelf, and is reſolved to die.

Different from both theſe is the wanton Frenchman, who courts his miſtreſs after a jolly faſhion, with ſongs, dances, muſic, and jeſts; he is all life and mirth when in her company, and abounds with a thouſand ſorts of comical humours; if he gets her, after a little time the fickle ſpark is cloyed, and falls in love with another; if he fail of his purpoſe, he is not much concerned, for all his love was but counterfeit; yet he makes a ſhow of diſcontent, he threatens and ſputters at her for a while, but this tongue-tempeſt is ſoon laid, and a new face produces a calm.

But the phlegmatic German is very hard to be kindled up to this paſſion, and then needs a great deal of art to blow him into a flame; he is cold and wary, thoughtful and ſlow, provident and dull; yet, when once touched with this affection, he is very liberal of his gifts, which is the maſter-piece of his courtſhip; if he obtains his miſtreſs, he ſoon returns to his primitive frigidity; and if he be fruſtrated, he is but where he was, far from killing himſelf for a peeviſh female.

The Frenchman profeſſes more love than he has; the German endeavours to hide the fervour of his paſſion; the Spaniard perſuades himſelf that he is beloved by his miſtreſs; whilſt the Italian takes the neareſt courſe to be beloved by her in reality. The Frenchman loves a pleaſant witty maid, though ſhe be deformed; the Spaniard prefers beauty to wit and good humour; the Italian is for a female of a timorous ſpirit; whilſt the German adores a virago. The Frenchman, by his wandering loves, of a wiſe man becomes a fool, and exchanges his health for a thouſand maladies; the German, having profuſely ſpent all in amorous liberalities, at length, from a fool, though late, becomes a wiſe man; the Spaniard undertakes heroic enterpriſes to pleaſe his miſtreſs; whilſt

the Italian deſpiſes honour, and every thing elſe, that he may enjoy her.

Certainly the greateſt men in the world have been ſubject to this ſoft paſſion, and have ſacrificed their reputation, glory, and virtue, with their very reaſon, to the regards of love. How enſnared was Mithridates in Pontus, by a beautiful woman? How did Hannibal ſuffer his courage to be enervated with the luxuries of Capua? So Hercules of old left the glorious toils of war, and ſuffered his arms to ruſt for the ſake of his Iole; ſo Ulyſſes was captivated by Circe, Achilles by Briſeis, and Cæſar by Cleopatra; and thou knoweſt that our annals record ſtrange things of the amours of our glorious monarchs.

There is no nation free from the ſentiments of love, yet every age and region vary in their conduct toward women. Here in the Weſt they are all for intriguing and gallantry; they accuſe the muſſulmans for having more wives than one, and for keeping as many concubines as they pleaſe, whilſt they themſelves have their wives almoſt in common, and lie with every wench that comes in their way; adultery paſſes with them for good-breeding, and fornication is eſteemed as innocent an action as eating and drinking; whereas thou knoweſt among the true believers theſe crimes are puniſhed with death. Promiſcuous copulation was forbid by Moſes, Jeſus, and Mahomet, and in general by all the prophets; it is a ſufficient indulgence, that every man may marry four wives, and enjoy as many other women as he either takes captives from the enemy in wars, or purchaſes with his money. But theſe infidels had rather follow the ſentiments of the old heathen lawgivers, and the examples of idolatrous nations, than obey God and his meſſengers; they applaud Solon, the great lawgiver of the Athenians,

calling him a wiſe man, as he was pronounced by the Delphic oracle, and a generous patriot, for procuring harlots to accompany the youths of the city, and building a temple to Venus out of the money they got by proſtituting themſelves.

It is certain whores were much eſteemed in thoſe days among the Grecians, for the magiſtrates built them public houſes on purpoſe, and free for all comers; they alſo made laws to protect them from injuries; and ſo great was the veneration that beſotted people had for them, that when Perſes invaded Greece, the harlots of Corinth undertook to intercede for their country in the temple of Venus; nay, whatſoever extraordinary favour they had to aſk of that goddeſs, it was done by the mediation of the whores; and there ſeems ſome reaſon on their ſide, ſince Venus herſelf was tranſlated to heaven, and made a goddeſs for being the greateſt whore and bawd that ever lived: She firſt taught the Cyprian women to proſtitute their bodies for gain.

What a work did Aſpaſia make, who filled all Greece with whores? For the love of her and her wenches it was that Pericles begun the Peleponneſian war that laſted ſo many years, and is ſo much talked of in ancient hiſtory. There were alſo learned whores; as Sappho, the miſtreſs of Phaon; Sempronia, Leæna, and Leontium, who wrote publicly in vindication of their lewd practice, and inveighed againſt marriage. There were alſo noble whores; as Rhodope, who built one of the Egyptian pyramids with the money given her by the king; Thais the Corinthian, who was ſo ſurpaſſing beautiful, that ſhe ſcorned to lie with any but kings and princes: But Meſſalina, the wife of Claudius Cæſar, exceeded them all in the ſalaciouſneſs of her temper. I will not omit to mention Joan, Queen of Naples, who

cauſed her firſt huſband to be hanged, becauſe he could not ſatisfy her luſt; his name was Andrew, ſon to Elizabeth Queen of Hungary: Her ſecond huſband, to repair the fault of the firſt, ſo waſted his ſtrength in the conjugal embraces, that in a little time he killed himſelf: Her third huſband was James, King of Majorca, whom ſhe beheaded for lying with another woman: Her fourth and laſt ſpouſe was Otho Duke of Brunſwick; he lived to ſee her hanged in the ſame place where her firſt huſband had, by her order, ſuffered the ſame fate. This was the revenge of Charles Prince of Dyrachium, couſin-german to Andrew before-mentioned. This laſcivious queen would have the company of ten or twelve young men, one after another, the ſame night.

What ſhall I ſay of Semiramis, Empreſs of the Aſſyrians; of Paſiphae, wife to Minos King of Crete; or of an hundred other royal whores; when it is obſervable, that the moſt illuſtrious heroes on earth have ſprung from adulterous beds? Witneſs Hercules, Alexander, Clodoveus King of the Franks, Theodoric the Goth, William the Norman, Raymir of Arragon, and many more, too tedious to be recited; nay, few kings and princes are born of lawful mothers.

Doubtleſs the infidel nations live in great corruption of manners; they confound and blend together divine and profane maxims, from whence reſult monſtrous and abominable practices, and a general uncleanneſs of life in all things. But the chaſte followers of Mahomet have all cuſtoms in abomination that defile the ſoul and rob it of its native purity; we obey the traditions of Ibrahim, Iſmael, and the reſt of the holy line, who never touched any woman but their own lawful wives and concubines, reſting contented with this indulgence of the Omnipotent; we put in practice the law brought down from heaven, and the precepts of the prophet, which forbid

all adultery, fornication, and inceſt; we preſerve in our veins the pure and unpolluted blood of our fathers, and tranſmit the ſame to our children, and the poſterity to come, that the promiſes made to Ibrahim, the glorious patriarch of the Eaſt, may not be diſannulled by the ſins of his offspring, but may be verified till the day when the moon ſhall be cancelled in the heavens, and all the ſtars be blotted out.

Oh ſage Hamet! we are of a ſacred lineage, and illuſtrious pedigree; our progenitors were the favourites of Heaven, and lords of the earth, by the ſpecial benediction of God; the light of the Eternal ſhines upon the Ottoman houſe, and is reflected from thence on all the empire. I pray Heaven that we may not forfeit theſe privileges by our own folly, and cauſe an ill report to be whiſpered of us among the angels, ſaints, and prophets, and throughout the precincts of paradiſe.

I conſign thee to the cuſtody of God, and thy guardian genius, wiſhing thee all manner of enjoyments that may conſiſt with purity and innocence.

Paris, 7th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1677.

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## XII.—*To the* Captain Bassa.

By ſhips newly arrived from America, advice is brought to this court of a ſignal defeat given to a ſquadron of Dutch ſhips in thoſe parts, and of the taking the iſle Tobago by the French. This exploit was performed under the conduct of the Count d'Eſtrées, an admiral of riſing fame here in the Weſt.

But in my opinion the French magnify this enterpriſe beyond its true value, for they loſt as many ſhips and men as the Hollanders; and all the gain they can boaſt

of is a place which will coſt them more to defend than it is really worth.

I wonder this potent monarch does not rather ſet out a fleet of ſhips well manned, and provided of all neceſſaries, to make ſome diſcoveries in that vaſt track of land called by geographers the Southern Unknown World; it runs along from eaſt to weſt, between the tropic of Capricorn, and the antarctic circle, taking up the whole ſouthern temperate zone, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it. There have been many fabulous relations of that diſtant part of the globe; ſome of the ancients mentioned it, and modern writers have uttered various conjectures about it; one will have it to be the original paradiſe of Adam and Eve; another ſuppoſes it to be the place whither the ten tribes of Iſrael retired, that were carried away captives by Salmanaſſar King of Aſſyria; which has occaſioned ſo many diſputes and controverſies between different hiſtorians.

Be it how it will, the delightful ſituation of that quarter has given perhaps encouragement for ſuch kind of thoughts, which I ſhould think were alſo invitation ſufficient to draw thither the arms of ſome magnanimous prince, beſides the pure novelty of the deſign, and the glory of making a deſcent and conqueſt, where no mortals of our known world had ever ſet foot before. Surely they are not afraid that it is enchanted ground, or that they ſhall encounter an army of devils at their firſt landing; that they ſhall be trepanned into hidden ſnares of magic, or be ſurpriſed by ſome infernal ambuſh. What fatal timorouſneſs, what panic ſuſpicion is it, that renders potentates of the earth thus ingloriouſly prudent, and wretchedly cautious, to ſpare their men, their ſhips and money, when ſo noble an undertaking ſeems to challenge their courage, and awaken their utmoſt reſolution to

combat a few difficulties, which being once vanquiſhed, eternal honour and renown follow?

What diſcouragements, lets, and obſtacles, did not the brave Columbus meet with, when he ſought the aſſiſtance of ſeveral princes and ſtates to ſet him out to ſea, that he might diſcover the then unknown weſtern world? How coldly was this project entertained at Genoa, his own native country, and at laſt, after long waiting, utterly rejected? No better reception found he in the court of England, though a nation claiming the firſt rank among the ſeafaring people. What fatigues did he not undergo, in travelling up and down, by ſea and land, from one kingdom and country to another? Neither reſted he till he had accompliſhed his deſire, and procured veſſels, men, and money, from the King of Spain, to carry on his enterpriſe.

Yet he had no other ground to believe there was any unknown continent beyond the Atlantic Sea, ſave his own conjecture, ſtarted from the obſervations he had made on the courſe of the ſun, and the inequality of the known part of the earth compared with the vaſt body of waters which muſt be ſuppoſed neceſſary to make up an entire globe, if there were not ſome unknown land extant to ſupply their room, and prevent a vacuum in nature; for he conſidered, that though this unequal balancing of the globe might paſs muſter in the ſchool of natural philoſophy, yet it could not anſwer the ſtrict ſcrutiny of the mathematics, but that there muſt be an even counterpoiſe of earth and water to keep this ball faſt in its vortex, and regular in its circulation; ſo that this great man built all his well-pitched and happy deſign upon a bare geometrical ſpeculation, whereas there is evident matter of fact, the teſtimony of many authentic eye-witneſſes to prove that there is ſuch a land as what I have been ſpeaking

of; and all that ever paſs the Magellanic Straits muſt have ſeen it if they were not blind.

I counſel thee, therefore, mighty baſſa, to repreſent theſe things effectually to the Grand Signior; it will be no diſgrace if he hearken not to thy propoſals; ſhow him the eaſineſs of the undertaking, if a ſmall fleet be fitted up, and ſent by way of the Red Sea, to make diſcoveries toward the ſouth; let them be well manned and victualled, provided alſo with all ſorts of arms and ammunition, in order to a deſcent, with materials and inſtruments to raiſe a fortreſs, if there be occaſion. It is a thouſand to one if the inhabitants of thoſe unknown regions have ever found out the uſe of guns, which will be a prodigious advantage on our ſide; the very thunder of the muſſulman artillery will terrify them into obedience; they will either ſurrender as to gods, or fly as from devils, leaving all the maritime coaſts to the invaders poſſeſſion, where colonies of true believers may be ſoon planted and eſtabliſhed, to the glory of God and his prophet, and the eternal exaltation of the Ottoman empire.

Great commander of the marine, I deſire thee to pardon the liberty I take in this diſcourſe, and to eſteem what I have ſaid only as the humble ſuggeſtions of an honeſt ſlave, who is zealous for his maſter's honour, the glory of the Ottoman houſe, and the general good of mankind.

Paris, 14th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1677.

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## XIII.—*To* Donet Oglou.

I am convinced by long and manifold experience, that God and the world, and every thing, appear to man in what figure he pleaſes; we may make our own optics, though the generality of men take up with thoſe which

are prepared for them by their fathers and tutors; we uſe the prejudices and prepoſſeſſions of education, as the Spaniards wear their ſpectacles even at dinner-time for faſhion ſake, young and old, that they may appear grave and regular; we adhere to the opinions we received in our infancy, with a partial ſtiffneſs and pride, that we may not ſeem to call in queſtion the wiſdom of our anceſtors, or appear wavering or inconſtant ourſelves. So the Chriſtian gallants ſwallow down whole dozens of venomous oyſters without ſaying grace, only becauſe it is the mode, though they will not venture on a cruſt of wholeſome bread without conjuring a bleſſing on it, by making the ſign of the croſs, and ſquinting two or three magical glances at heaven, ſeconded by hocus pocus whiſpers to complete the charm.

But let thou and I be more rational in our principles and practice. There is no God that will be bantered with vain mummery, or, by muſic, be melodiouſly wheedled out of his eternal reaſon; no incenſe can be of proof to noſe the ſenſe of the Omniſcient, nor the moſt elegant words delude him, who is perfect in knowledge; he takes no delight in the pompous addreſſes of the great, nor is he to be moved by the multitude of ſolemn ceremonies; all that he requires of man is a heart conform to the divine will, and actions void of offence.

But the lawgivers and governors of nations obſerving that there was a certain religious fear and reverence of ſome divine power as it were planted in the natures of all men, and conſidering that this might be improved, with good management, to the advantage and intereſt of the commonwealth, they invented ſet forms of diſcipline, and exterior offices of worſhip, which they termed holy rites and myſteries; theſe they fortified with ſevere laws and ſanctions, inflicting grievous penalties on the contemners

of the public ſervice performed to the gods; ſo Hermes Triſmegiſtus firſt taught the Egyptians; Meliſſus, the foſter-father of Jupiter, inſtructed the inhabitants of Crete; Faunus and Janus the Latins; Numa Pompilius the Romans; Orpheus the Grecians; or, as ſome ſay, Cadmus the ſon of Agenor, firſt inſtructed that nation in the ſolemnities which were counted divine, and which he himſelf learned in Phœnicia; he inſtituted the conſecration of images and ſtatues, the burning of incenſe, the building of temples and altars, with the hymns, ſacrifices, and other magnificent rites by which they honoured the powers above.

Now that all this religious pageantry was eſtabliſhed only for the ends of policy and ſtate, is evident from hence, that the chief magiſtrates took the liberty of making what gods they pleaſed, and of increaſing or diminiſhing their number at diſcretion; ſo that in proceſs of time there were reckoned no leſs than thirty thouſand gods in the Roman catalogue, though at firſt their kalender could ſhow but five-and-twenty divinities; but when once they had found out a way to diſtinguiſh theſe divinities into ſeveral claſſes or ranks, terming ſome gods of the greater nations, others of the leſſer, having alſo their tutelar genii, their demi-gods, their rural and houſehold gods, &c. there was no limiting the crafty devices of the prieſts and rulers in impoſing, or the ſuperſtition of the credulous people in believing and adoring an infinite rabble of new, young, and unheard-of divinities.

They took alſo the ſame freedom to change and alter the eſtabliſhed rites and ceremonies, ſometimes aboliſhing the old and primitive inſtitutions, and ſuperinducing new ones in their ſtead, or at leaſt adding to the heap of inſignificant ceremonies in every age ſome myſterious novelty which might pleaſe the people, and faſten them in

a devouter obedience and veneration of their pious guides and leaders.

Hence ſprung the dedication of temples, fanes, chapels, oratories, and certain days in the year, to the ſervice of particular gods; hence aroſe the invention and uſe of ſo many ſorts of veſſels of ſilver and gold, and other materials in their ſacrifices; of lights, flowers, and perfumes; of muſic, pictures, and other decorations; beſides the rich and majeſtic veſtments of the prieſts, their grave and compoſed carriage, looks, and geſtures; all deſigned purely to catch the rude and unpoliſhed multitude in the ſnares of prieſtcraft, to ſtrike their unwary minds with an awe and profound attach for religion, that ſo being once made thus flexible, they might warp them to what bent they pleaſed, and for ever lead them *in* a blind implicit admiration of they know not what.

It is certain that religion has this effect on the vulgar, to make them more obedient to their governors, juſt to one another, and zealous for the public welfare; I mean the religion allowed by the ſtate; for where the ſubjects dare to make innovations and ſchiſms, to ſet up new ſects and parties, the greater zeal each faction has for their own way of worſhip, the more cruel and tragical diſorders are generally committed; ſo fatal a thing it is to be opinionative in religion, to invade the prieſt's prerogative, and to diſturb the quiet ſtream of traditions running in the channel of public faith from one generation to another.

My dear Dgnet, let thou and I ſhun the devout ſuperſtition of bigots, and the wanton profaneneſs of libertines and athieſts, adoring one God with ſincere faith, and a reaſon void of error; let us alſo keep our lives free from all injuſtice and vice, which will be of more com-

fort to us than if we had ſacrificed every day a thouſand bulls.

Paris, 25th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1677.

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## XIV.—*To* Kerker Hassan, *Baſſa.*

The ſubject of moſt men's diſcourſe at preſent in this city is the taking of Fribourg by the French: This is a city of Germany, whereof I made frequent mention in my letters when I firſt came to Paris; it is ſituated on a certain height near a ſmall river, and is encompaſſed with two walls, ſtrengthened alſo by a citadel, four baſtions, and other fortifications; the emperor has likewiſe a ſtrong garriſon in it.

On the 10th of this moon, the Mareſchal de Crequi beſieged it, and preſſed it with ſuch vigorous aſſaults and continual batteries, that the governor found himſelf obliged to ſurrender it on the 17th, when the mareſchal took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the French king.

The imperialiſts cannot boaſt of equal ſucceſs when they beſiege towns or fortreſſes in the hands of the French; for not long before this the Prince of Orange, general of the confederate armies in Flanders, undertook the ſiege of Charleroy, a place of ſtrength in thoſe parts; but the want of proviſions, together with the ſtout reſiſtance of the inhabitants, and the Duke of Luxemburgh's approach with the French army, forced him to decamp and retire.

The Duke of Luxemburgh is a valiant and ſage general, in high eſteem with the French; but his enemies ſay he is a magician, and deals with the devil, becauſe of the good ſucceſs which generally crowns his enterpriſes; ſo impoſſible it is for a man of extraordinary virtues and he-

roic endowments to eſcape without envy and ſcandalous aſperſions. It is as natural for the vulgar to inveigh againſt generous ſouls, as it is for dogs to bark at the moon; yet that planet appears impaſſable, and not being moved at the ſnarls of invidious animals, keeps on her heavenly courſe in majeſty and ſilence: So do ſouls, that are truly noble, contemn the cenſures of the inferior part of men, and never ſtop till they arrive at the meridian and zenith of perfection.

Moſt ſerene and illuſtrious Arab, thou art a lively example of this, and I dare ſay no more leſt I offend thy modeſty. May perpetual benediction and glory crown thy years that are yet to come.

Paris, 29th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1677.

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## BOOK III.

### LETTER I.—*To the Wiſeſt of the Wiſe, the Moſt Venerable* MUFTI.

I OBEY thy commands without the leaſt demur; and now proceed to write of the Macedonian empire. I remember a diſpatch of mine to thy venerable predeceſſor, of ſacred memory, wherein I touched upon ſome paſſages of the life of that heroic and magnanimous prophet Alexander the Great; but now I will inform thee more at large concerning his birth, education, and renowned performances.

Alexander, as the Greeks and Latins call him, with all the nations of the Weſt, or Scander, Aſcander, and Zulkarneck, according to the ſtyle of the Arabians, Perſians, Indians, Tartars, and other people of the Eaſt, was

born in the 106th olympiad, 398 years after the building of Rome, and in the year of the world 3628, on the 6th day of the moon Loo, or Hecatombæon, according to the ſtile of the Grecians; the ſame night was the temple of Diana at Epheſus ſet on fire; and on the ſame day two eagles came and perched on the top of his father's houſe, where they ſat all the day, which was taken as an omen of the double empire he was to have over Europe and Aſia.

Philip King of Macedon, and huſband to Olympias, was the reputed father of Alexander, as ſhe was his known mother; but ſome hiſtorians ſay that a certain magician called Nectanebus, by his enchantments, diſguiſing himſelf in the form of Jupiter Ammon, lay with Olympias, and begot Alexander; others affirm that Olympias herſelf confeſſed to Philip that Alexander was not his ſon, but that ſhe had conceived him of a prodigious great ſerpent; whence it came to paſs that Philip himſelf, a little before his death, openly declared that Alexander was not his ſon; and for the ſame reaſon he divorced Olympias as an adultereſs by her own confeſſion.

Theſe reports were ſo common at that time, that Alexander afterwards hearing the ſtory of his ſuppoſed ſerpentine genealogy, and that other of Nectanebus in the maſquerade of a god, when he marched through Egypt took advantage of the latter to impoſe upon the credulity and ſuperſtition of his ſoldiers; for being to paſs by the temple of Jupiter Ammon, he made a halt to viſit the oracle; but he had privately ſent before ſome of his truſty friends to acquaint the prieſts with his deſign, and to tell them what manner of words and addreſs they ſhould uſe to him as he entered the temple, in the hearing of his followers.

Having thus prepared thoſe holy cheats, he with much

ceremony and ſeeming devotion made his approaches to the temple: As ſoon as he ſet his foot within the portico, the ſeniors of the prieſts met him in their pontifical robes, with cenſers in their hands, and thus ſaluted him, "All hail, ſon of Jupiter Ammon." Alexander being pleaſed at this, aſked them further, "If all his father's murderers were puniſhed, or if any yet ſurvived?" To which it was anſwered, "O ſon of the immortal gods! thy father cannot be murdered, or die; as for King Philip, his blood is fully revenged on them that had a hand in ſhedding it." Then he added another queſtion concerning his future ſucceſs; to which the oracle replied, "The victory ſhall be thine in all battles; thou ſhalt become lord of all the Eaſt." The ſame mouth alſo gave in charge to the retinue of Alexander, "That they ſhould adore him not as a king, but as a god." Returning from thence, he built Alexandria, calling it after his own name.

I have not obſerved a due method in relating this ſtory ſo ſoon, whilſt I was but repreſenting the new-born hero in his cradle; but I did it to convince thee, that the various opinions concerning Alexander's father are not the fictions of wanton writers, but ſuch as employed the care and diligence of Alexander himſelf to improve them to his own intereſt and his mother's honour; for it was accounted a glorious thing to be impregnate by a god.

To return therefore to the infant prophet, he grew apace, and diſcovered early ſigns of a prodigious wit and courage; at the age of fifteen years, he was committed to the care and tutelage of Ariſtotle, under whom he ſtudied the ſciences five years; and then his father Philip being murdered, he ſucceeded in the throne. The ſame year alſo, Darius Codomannus obtained the empire of Perſia; againſt whom Alexander, with the common con-

ſent of almoſt all Greece, prepared to go with a well diſciplined army, that he might carry on the war which his father had begun; only the Lacedemonians, Thebans, and Athenians thwarted his deſign, being corrupted by Demoſthenes the orator, who for that purpoſe had received vaſt ſums of gold from Darius; but Alexander ſoon reduced theſe factious ſtates and kingdoms to their duty, utterly deſtroying the city of Thebes, with the ſlaughter of 90,000 of the citizens, beſides 30,000 captives. This was executed on the 15th of the moon Boedromion, in the 2d year of the 111th olympiad; he only ſpared the hoſt of Philip his father, when he was left as a pledge in that city, whoſe houſe was left untouched, as alſo that of Pindar's poſterity.

From thence paſſing the Helleſpont, he marched into Aſia, in the year of the world 3650, and in the third year of his reign. He had in his army 30,000 foot and 4500 horſe. As ſoon as he ſet foot on the ground of Aſia, he made the royal corban and vows for victory; then he darted a javelin into the earth, in token of defiance; after which, when he came to Troy, he performed certain holy rites and myſteries at the tombs of defunct heroes, who fell in the Trojan war. When theſe ceremonies were accompliſhed, he marched directly againſt the Perſians, who were in number 600,000 fighting men. I will not tire thee with all the particularities that happened in their march; ſuffice it to ſay, that Alexander with his handful of Macedonians, after many victories obtained of the Perſians, at length quite routed the army of Darius, and took poſſeſſion of that once formidable empire.

But there are ſome remarkable paſſages in this expedition which deſerve to be remembered; as his wonderful continence and humanity toward the mother, wife,

and daughter of Darius, whom he entertained in his camp after they fell into his hands, rather as the kindred of ſome beloved friend, than of a profeſſed enemy. The ſtory alſo of his looſing the Gordian knot is not unworthy thy knowledge.

It ſeems in former times one Gordius, as he ploughed the fields, was ſurrounded with a flight of birds of all kinds. Being troubled at this, he left his work and haſted to the next city, there to inquire of the augurs what the meaning of this ſhould be: As he entered the gate of the city, he met a virgin of incomparable beauty, of whom he aſked, "Where he might find the moſt ſkilful ſage, with whom he might conſult about a matter of ſome importance?" Then he told the inquiſitive damſel what had happened to him in the field; as ſoon as ſhe heard this, being well verſed in theſe myſterious and prophetic ſciences, ſhe told him, "That he ſhould be made a king;" and to confirm him in the belief of what ſhe ſaid, ſhe promiſed to become his wife, that ſo ſhe might be partner of his future happineſs. In a word, they were married, and ſoon after there aroſe a ſtrife among the Phrygians, which was like to prove of dangerous conſequence; therefore the people conſulted the oracle, "What was to be done in this caſe, to prevent the public deſolation?" It was anſwered, "That the only remedy for theſe diſcords was to chooſe them a king." And when they aſked, "What perſon they ſhould chooſe to this dignity?" It was anſwered again, "That they ſhould elect that man for their king, whom they firſt met with a waggon, as they went thence to the temple of Jupiter." Gordius proved the man, and they obeyed the oracle, ſaluting him as their ſovereign. Gordius, as a memorial of this event, ſet up his wain in the temple of Jupiter, conſecrating it to the royal majeſty.

After him his ſon Midas reigned, who filled Phrygia with religious obſervations; whence aroſe the common oracle, "That whoſoever ſhould looſe the knot of the thongs in the waggon of Gordius, ſhould obtain the empire of all Aſia."

Alexander hearing this, and being ſpurred on by ambition, beſieges Gordia, and having taken the city, makes haſte to the temple of Jupiter, where he underſtood the waggon was laid up; as ſoon as he ſaw it, he tried to find out the ends of the thongs, that ſo he might looſe the knot; but perceiving that it was impoſſible to come at them without uſing violence, he interpreted the oracle in the ſenſe of a ſoldier, and cut the uttermoſt foldings of the knot with his ſword; upon which all the ends of the thongs appeared, and ſo he eaſily performed the fatal taſk.

Yet this heroic prophet, as he had great virtues, ſo had he no leſs vices; he was very cruel to his neareſt relations and friends, killing Caranus, his brother by a ſtepmother, Clytus, his old dear friend, Parmenio, Philotas, Amyntas, Attalus, Eurylochus, Pauſanias, and many other Macedonian princes, ſome of which were of his own blood; add to this, his barbarous uſage of Caliſthenes the philoſopher, who was brought up with him under Ariſtotle. This poor unfortunate man, refuſing to flatter the king's pride in calling him a god, ſo diſguſted Alexander, that feigning himſelf very angry, he charged him with being acceſſary to the plots and conſpiracies that were formed againſt him; then he cauſed all his limbs to be mangled and chopped after an inhuman faſhion; he commanded alſo his ears, noſe, and lips to be cut off, which not only gave the poor wretch infinite torment, but alſo rendered him a moſt deformed and miſerable ſpectacle to others; and, to complete his revenge,

he cauſed him in this doleful plight to be ſhut up in a cage with a dog, and ſo to be carried about to the terror of others.

Then Lyſimachus, one of Alexander's generals, and a diſciple of Caliſthenes, taking pity on ſo great a ſage, who ſuffered all this barbarous uſage, not for any real crime that he had committed, but only for uſing that freedom in his words and actions which becomes a philoſopher, gave him poiſon, to rid him at once of ſo many horrid calamities.

But Alexander took this ſo heinouſly, that he commanded Lyſimachus to be thrown to a very fierce lion; as ſoon as the furious beaſt ſaw him, he roared and pawed the ground for joy, and ran upon him with an impetuous force; but Lyſimachus not loſing his courage, wrapped his hand in his mantle, and thruſt it down the lion's throat, where laying faſt hold of his tongue, he pulled it out by the roots, and left the lion for dead.

When this was told the king, he, admiring the invincible virtue of the man, not only forgave him this offence, but had him in higher eſteem all his life afterwards.

We muſt not omit that memorable action of Alexander, when ſtomaching the ſurrender of Sidon to his victorious arms, in that it was delivered up by the people againſt the will of Strato their king, the conqueror pronouncing Strato unworthy of the crown, bid Hepheſtion place him on the throne whom the Sidonians ſhould approve as Strato's ſucceſſor. Hepheſtion, willing to prefer to that dignity a noble young Sidonian, who was his favourite, offered him the crown; but the generous youth refuſed the honour, alleging that it was againſt the laws of his country for any man to reign who was not of the royal blood. Hepheſtion admiring the greatneſs of his

ſoul, ſaid, "God increaſe your virtues and graces, illuſtrious friend, who art the firſt that ever underſtood how much more magnanimous it is to deſpiſe than to accept a crown. Be it therefore in your power to beſtow the kingdom on any man of the royal blood whom you think fit for ſo great a charge." Then he pitched upon one Abdolonymus, a poor gardener in the ſuburbs of Sidon, who was of the race of the Sidonian kings, but through extreme poverty was grown obſcure, and forced to take up that employment to get his bread. Hepheſtion approved the choice; and this noble youth, with ſome of his friends, immediately went with the royal robes and enſigns of majeſty to look out Abdolonymus, whom they found weeding his garden in a very dirty ſqualid condition. Saluting him therefore king, in the name of Alexander the Great, they waſhed and anointed him with precious oils of the Eaſt, and having put on the robes of ſovereign majeſty, they conducted him to the conqueror, who, among other diſcourſes, aſked him, "How he was able ſo patiently to endure that extreme poverty which had hitherto been his lot?" To which he replied, "I wiſh I may endure the burden of a crown with the ſame eaſe. Theſe hands ſerved the neceſſities of life, and my wants were anſwerable to my poſſeſſions, even none at all." Alexander perceiving by this anſwer the greatneſs of his ſpirit, gave him all the royal furniture of Strato, with much of the Perſian booty, and added all the countries round about Sidon to his government.

Much about the ſame time, Alexander going to Jeruſalem, was met by Jaddus the high prieſt in his pontifical habit, who falling at the conqueror's feet, to implore favour and mercy for his city and people, Alexander raiſed him up, and embracing him in his arms, bid him "fear

nothing, for that God had appeared to him in Macedonia, in the ſame figure and form as the high prieſt made, exhorting him to carry on the Perſian war, and promiſing him certain victory." After this, the high prieſt conducted him into the city and temple, where he ſacrificed and made corban; he alſo gave the Jews many ample privileges.

There is one thing more in the life of Alexander, which, becauſe it has ſomething very ſingular in it, I will inſert in this diſpatch.

After the conqueſt of Perſia, as Alexander was marching forward, that he might extend his empire through all the Eaſt, Thaleſtris, Queen of the Amazons, hearing of his fame, took a journey of five-and-twenty days, through many populous nations, attended only by three hundred women, and came to his camp, courting the honour of his bed; for ſhe had conceived an infatiable deſire of having a child by him, whom all the Eaſt proclaimed the greateſt hero in the world. Alexander granted her requeſt; and when ſhe had enjoyed his company thirteen days, ſhe departed well ſatisfied to her own country, promiſing, that if ſhe brought forth a male, ſhe would ſend him to his father, according to the manner of the Amazons, but if a female, ſhe would keep it herſelf.

From hence Alexander marched againſt Beſſus, who had murdered Darius, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of Perſia by the name of Artaxerxes; having overcome him and puniſhed his treaſons, he proceeded and ſubdued all the regions running along the foot of Mount Caucaſus; in fine, he extended his conqueſts to the utmoſt borders of India, even to the Oriental Sea, where he took ſhipping, and returned to Babylon, partly by ſea and partly by land. An aſtrologer of great re

putation met him by the way, and diſſuaded him by all the arguments he could uſe from entering the city, aſſuring him that place would be fatal to his perſon; but though Alexander made ſome demur at firſt, and ſeemed to credit the words of the ſage, yet being overruled by the counſel of Anaxarchus the philoſopher, he entered Babylon, where he died, ſome ſay of poiſon, others affirm that he ſurfeited himſelf with too much wine. This was in the thirty-third year of his life, and the twelfth of his reign.

There was a deep and melancholy ſilence throughout Babylon, when once it was known that the conqueror of the world was dead; every one was poſſeſſed with various thoughts and cares, according to their different actions and intereſts; the Macedonians inwardly rejoiced, as if they were now rid of ſome great and formidable enemy, curſing his ſeverity and reſtleſs temper, which had expoſed them to ſo many toils and perils of war; beſides, the princes flattered themſelves with a proſpect of enjoying every one his ſhare in ſo vaſt an empire; and the private ſoldiers had their eyes intently fixed on the immenſe treaſures of gold which Alexander left behind him, and which they hoped to ſhare among them; for there were at that time fifty thouſand talents in bank, and three hundred thouſand coming in yearly by way of tribute and cuſtom.

On the other ſide, the conquered nations would not at firſt give credit to the report of thoſe who carried the news of Alexander's fate; for they thought he muſt needs be immortal, whom they had always found invincible; but when couriers upon couriers had removed their incredulity, bringing freſh expreſſes from Babylon, they mourned for him, not with bare outward ceremonies, as for an enemy that had ſubdued them, but with real ſor-

row, as for a father that had protected and cherished them.

More especially the grief of Darius's mother was remarkable, who, though she had lost eighty of her brethren, with their father, all cruelly murdered by Ochus; though she had lost Darius, the only surviving of seven sons, and was herself cast down from the height of majesty to the abject state of a captive, yet she bore all with an even mind, till Alexander's death, whose indulgence alone, whilst living, had supported her under so many grievous calamities; but as soon as he had forsaken the earth, she grew weary of tarrying any longer on it too; not that she esteemed an enemy above her father, brethren, and her son, but because she had experienced in him, whom she dreaded as an enemy, the goodness and piety, the modesty and regard of all these relations.

This great monarch being dead, and not having appointed a successor, there arose almost as many kings as there were governors of provinces, and leaders in the army; hence sprung innumerable confusions, wars, and disorders, in the empire; there were tumults and insurrections in Greece, especially at Athens, where the citizens, under the conduct of Leosthenes their captain, invited the rest of the Grecians to assert their liberty by taking arms; nor were there less stirs in Asia and Egypt; every where men's minds were unsettled, and desirous of novelty. Ptolemy had Egypt for his share of the cantoniſed empire; there he established himself and his posterity by the name of kings; Seleucus took possession of Babylon and Syria, with the same title; Cassander reigned over Macedon and Greece; Antigonus governed Asia, and Lysimachus Thrace; but Antigonus soon lost his empire, being overcome and killed in a battle by Ptolemy and his confederates; so did the rest either in their

own perſons, or in their poſterity, yield to the prevailing fortune of their enemies, till at length all theſe ſhattered remains of the Macedonian empire became provinces of the Roman; of which I will ſay ſomething in my next.

In the mean while, I triumph to think that the Ottoman empire is now become more formidable, large, and victorious, than all that went before it. May God increaſe the felicities and honours of true believers, till the day of the final metamorphoſis.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1678.

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## II.—*To* Musu Abu'l, Yahyan, *Profeſſor of Philoſophy at Fez.*

I received thy venerable diſpatch with great ſatisfaction, and am glad to find thou art ſo far from being tired with what I have already ſaid concerning Conſtantinople, that thou challengeſt me with a promiſe I formerly made thee, of giving thee a farther account of what I have obſerved there moſt remarkable.

In deſcribing this imperial city, I have imitated the painters, who, when they would draw a beauty to the life, do not go arithmetically to work, or obſerve any order in their rough draughts; but following the conduct of a wild and ſtrong fancy, they daſh their pencil here and there, as that volatile faculty inſpires them, regarding only the ſymmetry of the picture, without preferring one part to another, or being curious in delineating every little ſingularity: So I, in pourtraying this queen of cities, this ſuperlative beauty of the whole earth, draw my ſtrokes at random, not deſigning to preſent thee with an anatomy-lecture over her, or to unveil all her interior ſecrets, but only to give thee a tranſient

view of thoſe parts which appear moſt eminent, and attract the eyes of all travellers; and this I do not perform all at once, (it were too great a taſk) but even like them, by fits and ſtarts, as I find my opportunities.

I have hitherto preſented thee with a proſpect of very magnificent and curious objects, as temples, moſques, aqueducts, columns, obeliſks, bazars, &c.; now prepare thine eyes for an entertainment of another nature: I will ſhow thee things, though perhaps not ſo illuſtrious to outward appearance, or ſtrutting with royal grandeur, yet ſufficiently great and ſplendid, to perpetuate the memory of the founders, and to convey their fame to all generations; things alſo of public uſe and ſervice, deſigns of charity, policy, and generous wiſdom, undertakings of a noble and heroic character, as thou wilt perceive by the following account.

No traveller can ſurvey the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, and not have his eyes arreſted here and there by moſt capacious and ample caravanſeras, where all diſtreſſed foreigners, and ſuch as are deſtitute of a more convenient lodging, may in any of theſe find a ſhelter and ſanctuary from the injuries of open air, from night robbers, and other inconveniencies; theſe caravanſeras are in number three hundred and three, built at the expences of Ottoman princes and baſſas.

There are alſo in this city ninety hoſpitals, where the poor are nouriſhed, and the ſick attended with extraordinary piety and care.

Beſides all theſe, there are five colleges where the ſciences are publicly profeſſed and taught, and where a certain number of young men are educated and maintained at the Grand Signior's coſt, being conſtant ſtipendiaries to the ſultan. There are many ſuch colleges ſcattered up and down Caramania, Natolia, and throughout



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Greece, and the Leſſer Aſia; ſo that the number of ſtudents, in theſe countries, is computed to be above nine thouſand, not reckoning thoſe in Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, where flouriſh innumerable ſeminaries of divine and human wiſdom.

But to return to Conſtantinople; the next thing worthy of obſervation is the ſerayan, or houſe of equipages, where are made all ſorts of trappings for horſes, eſpecially ſaddles of immenſe coſt, and admirable workmanſhip; this place is alſo environed with high walls, and ſhut in with ſtrong gates; there cannot be a more agreeable ſight to ſuch as take pleaſure in horſes and riding, than to ſee four thouſand men here daily at work in their ſhops, each ſtriving to excel the reſt in the curioſity of his artifice: You ſhall ſee one buſy in ſpangling a ſaddle with great oriental pearls, and unions intermixed, for ſome Arabian horſe, belonging perhaps to the Viſier Azem; another fitting a curb, or bit of the pureſt gold to a bridle of moſt precious Ruſſian leather; ſome adorn their trappings with choice Phrygian work, others with diamonds, rubies, and the moſt coſtly jewels of the Eaſt; in a word, there is ſo illuſtrious a variety of theſe accoutrements, that the eye is aſtoniſhed at the ſight of them, and I have heard many travellers acknowledge, that the like is not to be ſeen in any city of the world beſide Conſtantinople. I know not what may be in your cities of Morocco and Fez, in regard the Moors are great cavaliers.

There are, moreover, two other palaces in the city, encompaſſed with peculiar walls; in theſe the janizaries are poſted, who are the Guards du Corps to the Grand Signior; they are under the command of decurions without whoſe leave no janizary dare ſet a foot out of the palace.

Next is the arſenal of the city, built on the ſea ſhore, containing an hundred and eighty arches, under which are very elegant porticos or piazzas where people walk; there are above forty thouſand men daily at work in this arſenal, and eighty great galleys lie there always in readineſs for any ſudden expedition.

Beſides, there is another in the ſuburbs, wherein there always lie an hundred and fifty great galleons on the ſtocks, and ſixty fitted up with all neceſſaries conſtantly lie in the water.

The granaries, or ſtore-houſes for corn, preſent themſelves next; they are built in a corner of the city toward Pera, where the walls are far ſtronger than in any other part, and the gates are of iron. Here is always laid up an immenſe quantity of wheat and barley, as alſo of other grain, as if it were to ſerve for many years, yet it is changed for new corn every three years; they ſay, that in the reign of Amurat III. there was an incredible abundance of millet found there, whoſe virtue was much admired, in that it had lain there eighty years found, and free from any corruption.

I have purpoſely omitted to ſpeak of the two royal ſeraglios, ſince the leaſt of them will require a large letter by itſelf, to be deſcribed exactly; only this I will ſay in ſhort, that the leaſt is a French league in circuit, or three Italian miles, and the biggeſt, wherein the Grand Signior dwells, is a league and two-thirds, or five Italian miles; the former is called Eſchy Saray, or the old palace, the latter is named Bryuch Saray, or the great ſeraglio. If thou deſireſt a farther and more particular deſcription of theſe royal courts, I will ſend it thee in future diſpatches, for it will be too large for one.

In the mean time I muſt not forget the moſque of

Jub, where our Sultans receive the ſword when they firſt come to the crown; this is a building of great antiquity, ſeated in the fartheſt angle of the city near the haven; over againſt it are the ſultan's ſtables, having very fair gardens adjoined to them; not far from thence is the Topana, or gun-yard, where there lies a vaſt number of braſs pieces of ordnance without carriages, of which ſome are turned directly againſt the haven.

As you paſs from this place, it is impoſſible to avoid the ſight of a pillar, which ſhoots up from the top of a rock, at ſome diſtance from the city; this column is all of white marble, and was erected by Cn. Pompey, as a monument of his victory over Mithridates, King of Pontus; on this ſide of the city there is nothing hardly to be ſeen for eight miles together, but houſes built for pleaſure and delight, with moſt beautiful groves and gardens.

Over againſt the city ſtands Pera, an arm of the ſea coming between them; this ſuburb or borough is inhabited chiefly by Grecians and Weſtern Franks.

Round about this ſuburb are many pretty country houſes, farms, and granges, moſt deliciouſly ſeated in the midſt of high tufts of trees, with green fields, and cryſtal ſtreams adjoining to them, where the ambaſſadors of foreign princes make their abode ſometimes.

I will not carry thee from hence to Scutari, though a great and ſtately village, within the liberty alſo of the imperial city; I will not detain thee with the ſingularities of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, or drill thee along to Calipolis, though this were the firſt town in Europe which Amurat took in the year 1363; my deſign is altogether at Conſtantinople; therefore, having ſurveyed Pera, which is alſo called Galata, let us croſs the water, and return again to the mother city, that we may know

what manner of government there is in it, and how the laws are executed.

The chief magiſtrate is called Stambol Cadiſi, or judge of Conſtantinople; before him are pleaded all cauſes both criminal and civil; he has four deputies under him, who ſeparately govern the four chief precincts of the city*; there is likewiſe an officer called Sabaſſi, whoſe buſineſs is to take cogniſance of every one's crime that is ſeized in the ſtreets or houſes, and to refer it to the ſupreme viſier; he has alſo four deputies under him; and all men are bound to aſſiſt him in caſe of difficulty.

The common priſon of Conſtantinople is divided into two parts, the upper and the lower; the upper is only for civil offences, and has an airy green court in the middle of it, with a fountain continually ſpouting up water, which ſomething diminiſhes the ſqualideſs of the place; the lower is for capital crimes, and is a very ſink of horror and loathſomeneſs.

Flower of philoſophers, I pray God, who gave us our ſenſes, always grant them agreeable objects, and defend us from all noiſome ſcents, eſpecially from the peſtilential fumes of hell, which, they ſay, at certain times tranſpire through the chinks and crannies of the earth, infecting this upper world with deplorable contagions. May the odours of paradiſe refreſh us for ever, O ſenſible Muſu!

Paris, 19th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1678.

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## III.—*To* KERKER HASSAN, *Baſſa.*

EVERY year the French gain ground of their enemies; they make proſperous campaigns, and always come off conquerors.

In the beginning of the 3d moon, the king cauſed

Ghent to be beſieged by the Mareſchal d'Humiers: This city is the capital of all Flanders, and is divided into ſeveral quarters or iſles; ſo is the country round about it, by certain rivers and canals, which render it of extreme difficult acceſs, and ſpoil all communication; it is one of the greateſt cities in Europe, and is defended by a counterſcarp, a large ditch, good ramparts, and many baſtions. The inhabitants boaſt that it was founded by Julius Cæſar. They have been able to raiſe an army of fifty thouſand men among themſelves, whenever they have been inclined to revolt from their ſovereign; yet they could not hold out above ten days againſt the preſent arms of France, but ſeeing the vigour with which they were attacked on all ſides, and deſpairing of any ſuccours, they ſurrendered on articles.

Next to this, the city of Ypres was ſurrendered to them on the 25th of the ſame moon, after a ſiege of eight days; this is another conſiderable city in Flanders.

Nor have the French arms been unſucceſsful in Catalonia, under the command of the Duke de Noailles; this general having taken Puicerda, the capital city of that province, and a place of great ſtrength, being ſeated on the top of the Pyrenean mountains, and defended by a caſtle built on a rock. The Prince of Conde won it in the year 1664, but it was afterwards reſtored to the Spaniards again by the treaty of the Pyrenees, who fortified it anew with all the modern forms. This city has under its command above eighty villages, and draws contributions from all the province of Cerdaigne; it ſecures the poſſeſſion of Rouſſillon, covers the frontiers of Languedoc, and is eſteemed ſecond only to Barcelona of all the cities in theſe parts.

From Germany, and the provinces bordering on the

Rhine, fame tranſports hither ſucceſſive relations of battles fought between the French and the Imperialiſts, wherein the former always get the victory. The Mareſchal de Crequi engaged with them firſt near Grotzinghen, where the Prince of Baden, and forty officers of note, were wounded on the enemies ſide; the Count of Liqueville, a commander under the Duke of Lorrain, with many others, were taken priſoners. The French took from them a great number of ſtandards, killed abundance of their men, and, in fine, remained maſters of the field.

No leſs advantage had they in the 7th moon, on the plains of the Rheinfeldt, near the river Rhine, where they killed above eight hundred Imperialiſts upon the ſpot; and the bridge of Rheinfeldt was ſo crammed with dead bodies, that they ſerved as a barrier to ſtop the French from purſuing their victory to the gates of the city.

The Mareſchal de Crequi alſo defeated a body of ſix thouſand horſe and dragoons, commanded by the Duke of Lorrain near to Offenbourgh, which was followed by the taking of Ortamburg caſtle, and the fort of Kehl, which the mareſchal razed to the ground; he took alſo the fort of Zollhanſſen, and encountering the Duke of Lorrain, near a place called Lauterbourg, he ſet upon him, and killed four hundred of his men, as they were paſſing a bridge of the Rhine, and took three hundred priſoners.

If they go on at this rate year after year, it will be difficult to ſet the limits of their continually growing empire; only we need not fear that they will ever be able to joſtle the faithful Oſmans out of the patrimony appointed them by deſtiny.

Serene miniſter, the creſcent outſhines the croſs, the Alcoran ſuperſedes the Bible, and all things yield to the invincible arms of true believers.

Paris, 19th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1678.

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IV.—*To* DALIMALCHED, *the Widow of Peſteli Hali, his Brother, Maſter of the Cuſtoms, and Superintendant of the Arſenal at Conſtantinople.*

THOU mayeſt be aſſured it is no compliment when I tell thee I condole thy loſs; he that is dead was my brother, as well as thy huſband, and the friendſhip which was between us united us more cloſely than did our blood; we never thought any thing too much to perform in the ſervice of each other, provided it did not intrench upon our honour, but we greedily ſnatched every opportunity of demonſtrating our mutual affections.

He is gone to infinite joys, to a place of refreſhment, where he banquets on the reverſion of his good works in this life; he revels at large, and without contradiction, or murmuring of women, in full bowls of the ambroſia of paradiſe; no peeviſh female interrupts his joy, or turns his ſmiles to frowns by her unworthy carriage; he lies ſtretched out at eaſe upon the crimſon beds of Eden, with pages waiting on him, whoſe eyes are like the poliſhed pearl; each bears a golden goblet, cruſted with ſapphires in his hand, full charged with wine, which mortal kings would give their kingdoms for; thoſe heavenly youths perform their parts with admirable grace, and dutiful exactneſs; they wait the minute of their lord's deſire; with humble reſignation, the fair Cupids ſtand encompaſſing his bed, each being emulous of the reſt, all ſtriving,

with an agreeable generoſity, who ſhall ſerve their maſter firſt, and with the greateſt promptneſs.

When Peſteli pleaſes to divert himſelf with women, it is but to wiſh, and one more fair than ever Apelles drew preſents herſelf, chaſte as Diana, yet as kind as Venus; no coy demurs protract the enjoyment of his wiſh, nor is there the leaſt ſign of impudence to pall it; but in perfect love they meet each other, and unite their hearts, and ſo they paſs their time in conſtant unrepented bliſs.

He traverſes the pleaſant walks of Eden, and ſits him down upon the banks of her immortal rivers, rivers that ſtream with wine, and milk, and honey; under the ſhade of happy trees, he lies upon the flowery green, in the careſſes of ſome lovely daughter of paradiſe, whilſt aromatic winds inſpire him with diviner paſſions than Endymion felt in the embraces of Diana. O happy ſtate of ſeparate ſouls that part from earth in purity! their pleaſures know no bounds or end.

For what I have ſaid is only emblematical, deſcribing in ſenſible ſhort figures thoſe raptures and tranſcendent joys which cannot otherwiſe be expreſſed. Whatever elevated fancy can conceive of bliſs, is all by infinite odds ſurpaſſed in the enjoyments of the happy ſouls above. There is no number, weight, or meaſure of their eternal and ſuperlative felicities; they paſs from joy to joy, and ſport in endleſs circles of beatitude. O region ever to be deſired! O gardens of incomparable beauty! where the liberal Monarch of the univerſe regales the wearied ſouls of mortals with banquets of ineſtimable price, and unmatched delicacy, after their toilſome pilgrimage on earth.

If Peſteli could hear, I would congratulate his happineſs, inſtead of condoling thy misfortune in loſing ſuch a huſband; he has eſcaped the ſhipwrack of this lower world, this ſea of grief and tragedies; he is got ſafe into

the harbour of eternal reſt, the port of peace, and landed on the ſtrand of the Omnipotent's ſeraglio, where guards of angels waited on him to the throne of Alla, with ten thouſand thouſand flambeaux burning in the walks of Eden.

But tell me, Dalimalched, were not you ſomething in the fault, that the generous Peſteli left us both ſo ſoon? Did you not fret and teaze his high-born ſoul with words which might have well been ſpared to a man of ſo quick ſenſe? Doubtleſs he needed not your fuming lectures, and more ſilent diſcipline of pouts. If he committed faults, (as who does not?) he ſoon was ſenſible without a reprimand; there was no occaſion to keep him half a moon in paroxyſms of melancholy and grief; this was too hard a penance for his ſpirit to bear: But you women have ways by yourſelves, unintelligible to our ſex; your windings and turnings are intricate as thoſe of ſerpents; Dædalus himſelf, were he now alive, though once the glory of labyrinth-makers, yet would be puzzled to trace your ſex, in all your ſecret, wild, unknown meanders; ye are all the very changeable things of the earth; nobody knows what to make of you.

Dalimalched, I tell thee a woman never commands a man, unleſs he be a fool, but by her obedience; that way ſhe wins his heart, and makes a thorough conqueſt of his affections; ſhe wheedles him out of his ſovereignty, by cunning complaiſance and proper capitulations, or at leaſt by this method ſhe ſaves herſelf; ſhe will not thwart him in the torrent of his paſſion, but meekly yields to the mighty ſtream, and will not ſuffer her tongue to move but in the eddy of his wrath.

In a word, a good woman conſults her huſband's pleaſure in all things, and if thou haſt done ſo, the world has nothing to ſay to thee; but if otherwiſe, I adviſe thee to

remain a widow, leſt the next man that marries thee ſhould revenge the injuries my brother received at thy hands; for this is one way of taming ſhrews.

Paris, 27th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1678.

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V.—*To* HAMET, *Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

I HOPE thou wilt pardon me, moſt illuſtrious miniſter, that I have thus long delayed to give thee a farther account of the ſtates of Europe; but now I will proceed, and, according to thy command, begin where I left off.

Having already diſcourſed of Germany, I will deſcend into the Netherlands, which is as natural as for a man that has ſurveyed the upper town of Buda, or any other city ſeated like that, to fall into the lower; for ſo the Netherlands ſeem to be a kind of outlying borough, near the ſuburb to the German empire.

They are called the Netherlands, by reaſon of their low ſituation near the ſea, which makes the country appear like a marſh or moor; they contain ſeventeen provinces, ten whereof are under the juriſdiction of the King of Spain; the other ſeven make up a diſtinct and independent republic among themſelves.

The circumference of the ſeventeen provinces is a thouſand Italian miles; and within that compaſs there are two hundred walled towns and cities, an hundred and fifty other places which enjoy the ſame privileges and power as the former; and there are ſix thouſand villages.

In the time of Julius Cæſar, this track of ground was called Belgic Gaul by the Romans; it was inhabited by a warlike people, impatient of ſervitude, and ſtout af-

ſerters of their native liberty, as the ſame Cæſar found by experience when he warred among them; nay, and ſince that time the muſſulmans themſelves have felt their valour; witneſs the famous expedition of Godfrey of Bullen to recover the Holy Land out of the hands of the Saracens; and that other of Baldwin the Fleming, who made himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople and the Grecian empire.

The ancient Romans uſe to ſay, That the Gauls fought for their liberty, the Germans for booty, and the Dutch for glory and honour; hence it came to paſs that the Roman emperors in thoſe days had always a ſelect guard about their perſons, choſen out of theſe provinces; alſo the Hollanders and Friezelanders were called the friends and aſſociates of the Romans.

But though theſe provinces formerly had each a diſtinct ſovereign, with a peculiar government and laws, yet afterwards they were all reduced under the dominion of the Dukes of Burgundy, from whom they devolved to the Archdukes of Auſtria, and laſt of all to the Kings of Spain, who claim a title to ten of them at this day; but the King of France has poſſeſſion of a great part: As for the other ſeven, they are quite emancipated and free, it being an eſtabliſhed maxim with them, That the longeſt ſword gives the beſt title to a government; and, for ought I ſee, this principle is practiſed throughout the world.

The inhabitants of the Netherlands are generally tall and ſtrong bodied people, comely, civil, open hearted, courteous, prompt, and laborious; more addicted to wine than to women, equally forgetful of benefits and injuries, great muſicians, expert ſeamen, cunning merchants, accurate painters, and very ingenious in all arts; they are not jealous of their women, as moſt other na-

tions are, but ſuffer them to walk abroad openly, and converſe with men in the ſtreets: Neither will any of theſe females refuſe an invitation to a bottle of wine; as ſoon as you come into any houſe, the daughter of the family meets you with a bottle of wine, or other ſtrong beverage, in her hand, and drinks it off to you, and if you do not very readily anſwer, and pledge her, it paſſes for a ſign of rudeneſs and ill manners.

Theſe people are very rich, by reaſon of their merchandiſe and traffic with other nations, for they export the product of their ſoil, and their own manufactures, vending or exchanging them, at a prodigious advantage, in the remoteſt regions of the earth.

They have very ſtrong forts and caſtles up and down the country, with cities which are in a manner inexpugnable. As for the religion of the Netherlanders, the ten provinces, which are ſubject to the King of Spain or France, are called Catholics; the other ſeven repreſent the celebrated tower of Babel, where the languages were firſt confounded, as Moſes relates; for ſuch is the hodge-podge and gallimaufry of religions tolerated in Amſterdam, Leyden, and other cities of Holland, and in general throughout all the Seven United States; neither have they much more regularity and order in other matters. Wonder not, therefore, if my pen obſerves no method in treating of a country which is the very emblem, proverb, and centre of ataxy and confuſion; however, I will now begin to make more particular diſtinctions than in the former part of my letter.

Zealand has a bad air, eſpecially in the ſummer time, when the ſun exhales ſtinking and infectious vapours from the lakes and pools, of which there is a great number in that province; yet it has an excellent ſoil, abounding with wheat and other corn, alſo with good paſturage

for ſheep and cattle. There is little more to be ſaid of this province.

Holland has this obſervable in it, that frequently the earth trembles there under the burden of coaches, waggons, horſes, &c. which is an argument that the ground is hollow underneath, and full of caverns. To confirm this opinion, they ſay, that a cow once falling into a gap or chaſm in the earth, was found dead three days afterwards in the ſea, being known by the owner to be the ſame. Hence a part of Holland, in the language of the country, is called Waterland, which at firſt hearing ſounds like a contradiction; but they mean by it, a land ſituated in the waters; for ſo indeed the whole province appears to be divided into ſmall iſlands by innumerable canals, lakes, and pools, that every where expoſe themſelves to your eye. This province deſerves moſt properly of all the reſt the appellation of Netherland, it being ſunk ſo very low, that in many places the ſea riſes higher than it, which compels the Hollanders to fortify their ſhores with high and ſtrong banks, which with great coſt they continually keep repaired.

They have but little corn or fruit of their own growth, being ſupplied with thoſe things from Germany, Poland, and other countries; but there is an immenſe quantity of graſs to nouriſh millions of ſheep, oxen, and horſes. And what I have ſaid of theſe two provinces may be in ſome degree applied to all the reſt, Friezeland only excepted, which is more fertile of corn, yields abundance of pulſe and ſalt, and is well clothed with woods.

As to the manners of theſe people, the Zealanders are of a ready wit, provident, and ſubtle, of ſtature generally very tall, as will appear by a woman of this province, whom William Count of Holland ſent to the nuptials of Charles the fair King of France; ſhe was of ſo

vaſt an height and bulk, that the French looked like pigmies or dwarfs in compariſon of her; and ſuch was her ſtrength, that ſhe could lift from the ground a beam, and carry it on her ſhoulders, which eight labouring men could hardly ſtir.

It is obſerved of Guelders, that it was the firſt of theſe provinces which ſubmitted to the riſing fortune of the Roman empire, and again the firſt that ſhook off the yoke when that empire was in its wane.

In Utrecht there are abundance of nobles, who are more ſoft and polite in their converſation than the reſt of the Hollanders; the women of quality there go veiled.

The public affairs of all theſe provinces are managed by thoſe whom they call the States General of the United Provinces; theſe are a convention or aſſembly of the chief nobles, principal magiſtrates, and moſt eminent citizens in every province.

Courteous effendi, theſe are the chief things which I know of the United Provinces, unleſs thou wouldſt have me write their complete hiſtory, which would be too tedious for letters. Accept of my labours, which though mean, yet are voluntary, cheerful, and done at a jerk.

Paris, 4th of the 12th Moon, of the year 1678.

## VI.—*To the Same.*

Thou wilt ſay I am all upon the extremes. In my laſt I dragged thee through the moſt dirty, naſty, abject valley of all the earth; I mean Holland, with the reſt of the United Provinces; now I am going to lead thee out of thoſe ſcurvy bogs, and give thee a breathing up the ſalubrious hills and mountains of Helvetia, or Swifferland. It is true this cannot be done without a conſiderable leap

over many provinces of Germany, part of Lorrain and Alſace; but having ſpoken formerly of the empire, and from thence in my next, by a kind of natural deſcent, fallen into the Low Countries, the conſideration of their form of government put me in mind of the other republics in Europe, among which, that of Swiſſerland lying next to the United States, I choſe to make it the ſubject of this letter, deſigning to give thee an account of Venice, Genoa, Lucca, and the reſt in order.

Know then, that Helvetia or Swiſſerland was once a province of Germany, but now it is a commonwealth ſubſiſting by itſelf, and not ſubject to any foreign power; it is divided into thirteen cantons or provinces; I will not trouble thee with the names of each diſtrict, or with their ſeveral characters: The whole country in general looks like a great bunch of rocks and mountains, ſeparated by ſmall but very pleaſant valleys; and though the mountains ſeem rough, yet their tops and brows flouriſh no leſs with all ſorts of trees and herbage, than the faireſt plains. The inhabitants nouriſh abundance of ſheep on them, beſides goats, hinds, horſes, with many other kinds of beaſts; for there is great plenty of animals in this country, both wild and tame. The air is piercing and ſerene; the ſoil, though not of itſelf fertile, yet is made ſo by the induſtry of the inhabitants; in ſome parts they have vineyards which produce a grape of wonderful delicacy, the wine of which is much eſteemed in thoſe parts. The lakes alſo and rivers abound with fiſh of all ſorts; neither is there any ſcarcity of fowls, or of any thing elſe which immediately ſerves the neceſſities of human life; only things tending to luxury, and other kinds of wantonneſs, are not to be found in this happy region: It is a ſecond Scythia or Tartary: and indeed the inhabitants of Swiſſerland are thought to come out of thoſe more northern regions.

They have ever been famous for their invincible conſtancy and valour in war; Julius Cæſar himſelf was afraid of them, and built a wall to hinder them from going into France or Gaul, when he remembered that L. Caſſius, a Roman conſul, was vanquiſhed by them, and his whole army routed. Some authors affirm, that in the times of old, the inhabitants of the north of Europe were ſo prodigiouſly multiplied, that ſome of them were forced to ſeek new ſeats; wherefore, ruſhing through Germany, and paſſing the Rhine, they were met by the Gauls, whom they overcame and defeated; upon which news the neighbouring nations being terrified, ſent ambaſſadors to them deſiring peace: The conquerors replied, they came not to wage war, or diſturb the peace of mankind; that they only ſought a place to live in quietly, where they might manure the ground, without hurting any body. Then Helvetia was granted to them, where their poſterity live to this day.

As to the manners of the modern Swiſs, they anſwer exactly the ancient character, being wholly addicted to war, hardy to bear all inconveniencies of hunger, thirſt, cold, and other afflictions of nature, providence, deſtiny, or chance; a little money ſerves their turn to defray the expences of eating, their diet being very plain and ordinary, conſiſting chiefly of milk and cheeſe. If they are chargeable in any thing, it is in wine and other ſtrong liquors; for you ſhall find but mean and ſqualid houſes, and contemptible furniture, and they wear garments anſwerable to the reſt; but they are given to drinking above meaſure; they will conſume whole days and nights ſucceſſively, without intermiſſion, in their drunken debauches; nor can any friendſhip be contracted among them, but over their cups; for he who drinks moſt, and is moſt frolicſome and debonair, is taken for a man of

integrity; whereas he that ſeems timorous of his health, or makes any frivolous excuſes, is looked upon as a ſneaking fellow, not worthy of ſuch good company; nay, ſometimes their madneſs grows to that height, as to ſet a dagger to his throat who refuſes to pledge in his turn.

And yet after all this reproach, it muſt be confeſſed that theſe people are very prudent and circumſpect, both in their private and public affairs; for notwithſtanding the pleaſure they take in liberal compotations, yet every man, when the frolic is over, is intent on his buſineſs, uſing double induſtry and diligence to make good the expences of his laſt vanity; they work to drink, and drink that they may better work again; ſo in the public, it is evident that they are not defective in policy, ſince they have been able for ſo many centuries of years to maintain their union and confederated liberties againſt ſo many princes who have endeavoured to bring them under a foreign yoke; and not only ſo, but ſuch is the ſingularity of their conduct, that the moſt mighty monarchs in Europe are glad to enter into a league with them, and ſend yearly vaſt ſums of money.

Thou wilt not, after what I have ſaid, expect to find in Switzerland the riches of Arabia and Babylon, nor the reſt of the luxurious and magnificent ſuperfluities of the Eaſt; the ſituation of the country, and nature of the ſoil, denies theſe glittering vanities; it is ſufficient that it brings forth enough to nourish the inhabitants.

They fear no foreign invaſion, both on the account of this national poverty, and the inacceſſible heights of the Alps, with which they are on all ſides environed as by a wall; add to this, the invincible reſolution of the people, who abhor and fear ſubjection more than death itſelf; ſo that no prince in Europe dares, or thinks it worth his while to carry a war into this country, knowing, that if

he ſhould conquer it, the revenues, with all the ſpoil of his new-gotten poſſeſſions, would not counterbalance the expences of one ſhort campaign: Beſides, their union is ſo ſtrict and cloſe, that it is almoſt impoſſible to break or diſſolve it. Then they have ſome very ſtrong cities, caſtles, forts, and other places of defence, which would give no ſmall diverſion and incumbrance to him who ſhould undertake ſuch an expedition. In fine, ſuch are their circumſtances, that all the courts round about them think it ſafer to court this untameable nation, than to threaten or huff them.

I will relate to thee a ſtory by way of inſtance or example, from whence thou mayeſt comprehend more clearly the humour of this people.

In former times, as I have already ſaid, Swiſſerland was a province of the German empire, or at leaſt reputed ſo; and there were certain prefects or governors ſet over them by Cæſar, one ſucceeding another; ſome of theſe, for their inſolence, were driven out of the nation, others were killed by reaſon of their tyrannous and cruel practices. Among the reſt, one of theſe governors, being diſguſted at a certain Swiſs, commanded him to be yoked with oxen that drew burdens in a cart; but when neither by fair nor foul means they could force him to this vile condeſcenſion, he commanded his eyes to be put out, which was done accordingly. This was murmured at; but being the firſt eſſay of his cruel diſpoſition, they winked at it.

A while after, the ſame governor commanded a woman in her huſband's abſence, to prepare a hot bath for him, which when the chaſte matron refuſed to perform till her huſband came home, he ſtruck her dead with an axe. This alſo, though heightening the choler of the Swiſs, was paſſed by in meditation of future revenge.

At laſt he grew ſo fooliſhly proud and imperious, that walking one day in the ſtreets of the city, he ſtuck his cane in the ground, and placed his turban or bonnet thereon, commanding all that paſſed by to give honour to it, which when a certain honeſt Swiſs refuſed to do, he commanded him to ſtrike off an apple from his ſon's head with a ſhot from his croſs-bow; the good father for a long time refuſed thus to hazard his ſon's life; but being overcome by the tyrant's importunate menaces, he rather ventured to truſt to providence the life of his ſon, than to ſacrifice both that and his own to the implacable malice of a barbarian; ſo he ſhot, and hit the apple off, without touching his ſon's head. The governor ſeeing this, and taking notice that he brought two arrows with him, aſked him the reaſon of it; to whom the Swiſs anſwered, "If I had ſhot amiſs, and hurt my ſon with the firſt arrow, I was reſolved to have pierced thy heart with the ſecond." Upon this all the people gave a ſhout, and running together, ſeized upon the governor, and tore him to pieces; neither would they ever afterwards endure or admit any man into their cities from the emperor, unleſs he came in the quality of an ambaſſador.

Serene miniſter, if theſe memoirs are in the leaſt acceptable to thee, it is but to command, and thou ſhalt find I have a ſtock not eaſy to be exhauſted.

Adieu, adieu, for the preſent. May the curtains of God's pavilion be unfurled about us, to ſkreen us from the injuries of demons who haunt by night for mortals; for it is now their hour.

Paris, 6th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1679.

VII.—*To* DGNET OGLOU *at Damaſcus.*

could hardly believe my own eyes, when I firſt read the letter, and underſtood that thou art turned huſbandman at laſt, and ſettled in a place the moſt delectable on earth, the very centre and rendezvous of all pleaſures, and whatſoever is agreeable to mortals. Thou art a wary man, reſolved to be ſure of one paradiſe at leaſt, though it be by mortgaging thy title to the other; thou wilt not ſuffer God Almighty to go upon tick with thee, nor truſt all his promiſes for heaven in reverſion; yet I cannot diſcommend thy cautiouſneſs; we know not what ſhall befal us after death, and therefore nature prompts us to ſecure to ourſelves ſome ſhare of happineſs in this life, and to antedate the uncertainties of a future bliſs, by carving out our own heaven on this ſide the grave. However, I wiſh thou mayeſt not ſurfeit on thy preſent enjoyments, and ſo render thy ſoul incapable of the voyage to eternal beatitude. I tell thee, my Dgnet, thou art a bold man, to venture on a place by choice, which the meſſenger of God purpoſely ſhunned as the moſt dangerous on earth; but I would not diſcourage thee; that city was then in the hands of infidels, a ſeat of profanation and idolatry; now it is ſanctified by the preſence of true believers, by the preaching of the law brought down from heaven, and by the moſques of perfect holineſs.

As for the manner of life thou haſt made choice of, I highly applaud it, as the moſt primitive, innocent, delightful, and happy above all others; many great princes and kings have exchanged the toilſome glory, and royal fatigues of empire, for the ſweet tranquillity and eaſe of a country farm, and wholeſome exerciſes of agriculture: Thus Dioclefian, a Roman emperor, quitted his throne for the ſake of a private life, and thoſe hands which had

been accuſtomed to wield the ſceptre, became at laſt voluntarily familiar with the ſpade, the plough, and the harrow; ſo the grand Cyrus, monarch of the Perſians, uſed to boaſt of the gardens planted and ſowed with his own hands: and it is certain, that the Fabii, the Lentuli, the Ciceros, the Piſos, with many of the nobleſt families in ancient Rome, derived their names from thoſe kind of vegetables which they ſignify, and which their fathers took delight in planting.

How many great authors have written in praiſe of huſbandry? Attalus and Archelaus, two kings, extolled it; Xenophon and Mago, two generals, patroniſed it; and Oppian the poet celebrates it in verſe, beſides Cato, Varro, Pliny, Columella, Virgil, and many others. Some have placed ſupreme felicity in this kind of life; Virgil pronounces huſbandmen fortunate, and Horace calls them bleſſed; hence it was, that the Delphic oracle declared a certain man, named Aglaus, to be the happieſt of all mortals, becauſe he was buſied in nothing but manuring and cultivating a little farm, never moleſting himſelf with vain cares or paſſions, nor increaſing the miſeries of human life, by tampering with foreign and unneceſſary pleaſures, which, though full of blandiſhments, and ſweet in the front, yet carry a ſting in their tail, embittering all our joys.

Thou art ſituate in the moſt pleaſant ſuburb of Damaſcus; for I have ſurveyed that city, and all its precincts, with no ſmall curioſity; the houſe is encompaſſed with lovely gardens and meadows; it was formerly the ſeat of Abul Mecharib, the famous ſhepherd, who took ſanctuary there from the perſecution of Iſmael, begler-beg of Diarbekir.

Thou knoweſt the ſtory, and I need ſay no more than to wiſh thee as good fortune in poſſeſſing that rich ſpot of ground as he had, who, as it is recorded in the regiſter

of Damaſcus, died worth an hundred purſes of gold, moſt of it got by the increaſe of his cattle in thoſe lucky fields.

For my part, I cannot pretend to ſkill in theſe things, but it appears to me like a good omen that thy predeceſſor was ſo proſperous in that farm. I adviſe thee to take his meaſures, and ſtock thy ground with ſheep, oxen, camels, horſes, and other animals of profit; think it no ſcorn to follow an employment ennobled by the examples of Romulus and Remus, the firſt founders of the Roman empire, of Paris the ſon of Priamus, of Anchiſes the father of Æneas, of Endymion the beloved of Diana, who were all herdſmen or ſhepherds; ſo was Polyphemus and Argus, ſo was Apollo, who tended the flocks of Admetus King of Theſſaly. What ſhall I ſay of Mercury, the firſt inventor of the bagpipe, and prince of ſhepherds, and of Proteus, another divinity? Was not Ibrahim, the father of muſſulmans, a herdſman, and Moſes the prophet familiar with God, and David the prince of poets? In a word, my friend, the moſt illuſtrious heroes among the ancient Greeks, Romans, and other nations, were all keepers of ſheep, goats, oxen, &c. as the Arabians are at this day, with the Tartars, and other nations of the Eaſt.

Doubtleſs the rural life, as it is the moſt ancient, ſo it affords the ſincereſt pleaſures, and moſt unrepented joys in nature, provided a man enjoys it with innocence and juſtice; but I would have thee avoid the common temptations to which this kind of life is more expoſed than any other, that is, hunting and fowling; theſe are really deteſtable exerciſes, tragical ſports, and altogether inhuman; it is a labour unworthy of man, to watch from day to day, and one night after another, the haunts of our fellow-animals, that we may deſtroy them; it is a cruel pleaſure that muſt be maintained at the expence of ſo

much innocent blood, and a barbarous triumph, to insult over a poor mangled hare, or hind, after you have harassed them up and down the country for many hours together, with an army of dogs and men.

It is recorded that the Thebans were the first inventors of this unhappy sport, a nation infamous for deceit, thefts, perjuries, murders, and incests, from whom it passed to the Phrygians, a people no less wicked, but more foolish and easy, light and credulous, and for that reason they were despised by the Athenians and Lacedemonians at first; however, those graver nations in a little time learned the trade of hunting of them, so infectious is the company and very neighbourhood of ill men, so prevalent the examples of such as are held to lead the way in new paths of vice.

By the God whom I adore, my Dgilet, it appears to me so foolish a pastime, an exercise so unbecoming the majesty of a rational spirit, to run yawling with a parcel of hounds, perhaps a whole day together, after some timorous animal, that I wonder men are not ashamed to practise it, especially great men and princes, who should excel others in the justice and clemency of their nature; yet these are most guilty of rapine, injuries, and spoil.

My dear friend, imitate not their pernicious examples, but tread in the steps of just and holy men, whom the birds and beasts would obey at a nod, because they could not smell the least odour of evil in them. How many prophets have been fed by ravens, hinds, cats, and other animals? Nay, the very serpents and dragons of the desart, with the amphibious monsters of Egypt, have quitted their native venom, to serve an innocent man; and when Omer the caliph was hard pursued by a troop of Egyptian idolaters, even to the banks of the Nile, he commanded a crocodile, which he spied in the river, to come

and ferry him over on his back, and the pious beast was obedient to his word; doubtleſs this was a ſingular grace in the dumb creature, and he was tranſlated to paradiſe, if our doctors ſay true.

Dguet, I bid thee adieu, and wiſh thee a plentiful harveſt, which is the moſt ſeaſonable prayer I can make for thee at this time of the year.

Paris, 14th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1679.

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VIII.—*To* Achmet Cupriogli, *the Moſt Exalted and Sage Viſier Azem.*

The face of affairs here in the Weſt is now quite changed; a general peace is eſtabliſhed between the Nazarene princes and ſtates: France, which a while ago was at mortal jars with the Hollanders, Spain, and the German empire, is lately reconciled to them, whilſt new friendſhips and alliances have baniſhed all thoughts of former enmities and feuds. This year commences a civil jubilee in Europe.

There has been a treaty of peace in agitation at Nimeguen, and conferences held about it any time theſe four or five years, whereof I formerly gave a hint in one of my letters to the Porte. The concluſion of it is owing to the powerful mediation of the King of Great Britain, who is made guarantee of the articles; and the ſubmiſſive addreſſes of the Biſhop of Straſburg to the King of France, contributed not a little to the univerſal agreement; for this great monarch is ſlow in his advances towards an accommodation with thoſe who have injured him or his allies; he affects to imitate the ſtately reſervedneſs of the Eaſtern princes, thinking his majeſty would be violated, ſhould he condeſcend too ſoon, and on too

eaſy terms, to the propoſals of his neighbours; he has learned this from the maxims of the ſublime Porte, the refuge of mankind, whoſe arms are ever open to receive and embrace all that ſue for the Grand Signior's friendſhip and protection, in a way not intrenching on the glory of the Ottoman houſe, a family deſtined to ſubdue the world.

This temper of the French king is ſo well known and obſerved in theſe parts, that he has got a new character by it both among foreigners and thoſe of his own nation; for they ſpare not to call him, The Moſt Chriſtian Turk, by way of mockery; and this is the ſatirical ſtyle even of his ſubjects in their ſeditious cabals, when they are a little warmed with wine, and each man as great as a king himſelf in his own conceit.

By the ſwift flaſhes of lightning, which cauſe the heart to pant, and dazzle the eyes of mortals; by the aſtoniſhing noiſe of thunder, which raiſes the vapours of the ſpleen, and fills us with hypochondriac dread, I ſwear the King of France is a great hero, and deſerves the honour which theſe infidels have unfeignedly done him, in likening him to the undoubted arbiter of the earth; he really determines the differences and quarrels of a great part of it; and though he be a Chriſtian in profeſſion, and ſtyled, The Eldeſt Son of the Church, yet he is no enemy to the followers of Mahomet, who vouchſafe him their friendſhip: Thou knoweſt he is the moſt primitive ally of the Ottoman empire among the weſtern princes of the law of Jeſus; he has eſtabliſhed a more remote friendſhip, for the ſake of commerce, and ſpreading his renown, with the Grand Mogul, and the King of Perſia; his fame ſtrikes all the Eaſt with admiration and reſpect, for they have heard of his continual victories and ſucceſsful exploits, even to the utmoſt borders of the continent;

yet the ſame fortune procures him only the ſpite and envy of the princes in the Weſt.

However, they are glad to diſſemble their malice at this juncture, and enter into an agreement with him, almoſt upon his own terms.

The treaty between France and Holland was publiſhed in this city on the firſt of the tenth moon, the year precedent: Now to aſſure the world that there is a perfect amity and peace, the Dutch have ſent their ambaſſadors extraordinary, to acknowledge, that the king has preferred the repoſe of Chriſtendom to the glory which his victorious arms acquired him, and that the United States of the Low Countries being the firſt who have felt the effects of his generoſity, they thought themſelves obliged to prevent others in the earlineſs of their application. Yeſterday was alſo publiſhed the peace between France and the emperor.

I take my conge, moſt magnanimous viſier, and friend of France, in the humbleſt poſture of adoration, wiſhing thee honour, riches, and pleaſures which ſhall have no end.

Paris, 27th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1679.

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## IX.—*To* Mehemet, *an exiled Eunuch, at Alcaire in Egypt.*

THERE are certain critical periods in our lives, whether ordained by fate, or falling out in an eternal circulation of chances, I am not able to determine; but this I perceive, that at ſuch ſeaſons, ſomething very ſtrange and unuſual happens to us, above or beſide the ordinary courſe of nature, or at leaſt appearing ſo to me. I will not pretend to unravel the web of deſtiny, or deſcribe the

incomprehenſible fineneſs of that artifice which has framed the worlds; I will not undertake to diſcover the ſecrets of God, the myſteries of nature, and thoſe things which are, under a ſeal, ſhut up from mortals in inſcrutable darkneſs; I will not, by a vain preſumption and impious arrogance, claim to myſelf the right of omniſcience, and dive into other men's conſtitutions and thought; ſufficе it that I comprehend my own.

Thou knoweſt, my Mehemet, that I have been a man of many circumſtances, ſubject to various changes and viciſſitudes in this mortal ſtate; my life has been alternately checkered with good and evil; virtue and vice have had their turns in the ſeries of my actions, proſperity and adverſity in the courſe of my years; and I would fain find out the man that can with truth boaſt the contrary. Doubtleſs we are all born to the adventures which happen in the pell-mell of human converſation: Fates-errant encounter one another; ſometimes they are agreeable and complaiſant; at other ſeaſons they will claſh and tilt, break lances, draw ſwords, and all the weapons of nature's pride and fury ſhall be uſed in mere defence of idioſyncraſies, conceits, antipathies, ſelf-intereſt, preſervation, or any thing but what is generous and good.

O horrid ſtate of men! a life to be deplored beyond the ſavage courſe of lions, tigers, wolves, and other beaſts of prey, who always, in extremeſt hunger, ſpare their proper ſpecies! Yet man, in perfect wantonneſs, devours his brother, and glories in his cruelty and injuſtice.

As for me, I have not been guilty of any of theſe black crimes, which make riot in the tranquillity of the ſoul, diſturb its peace, darken its light, and cover it with a cloud of guilty, deſperate thoughts. No; if I have been enemy to any body, it has been to myſelf: the very

beasts cannot challenge me with oppression, or any barbarous usage; much less would I torment one individual of our human race; but I have had my frailties as well as other men, and there is all can be said of it. Thou art acquainted with my temper, and nobody knows any worse. It is true, I have had to do with abundance of people in my life time; I have bullied it, lioned, lambed, and sometimes foxed it in the world: I have always pursued the chase of nature: come life, come death, I have made no baulks in the appointments of fate, or ever put the eternal destiny to a stand: I never halted, boggled, or framed a stumble at a generous and noble action, a bold and godlike enterprise; but from my cradle I disdained and cherished infant abhorrences for an inhuman, barbarous, perfidious, cowardly thought.

Indeed, I have been too great a lover of good company, too easy, flexible, and free in drinking wine, and other inebriating liquors, whose use is taught from heaven, and is the genuine product of eternal reason; but the excess is sure derived from hell, the seat of everlasting evil, vanity, and error. And yet to whom, or to what cause or principle, shall I ascribe the many extravagancies of this kind that I have committed? I, that have suffered the thaws of a thousand putrid fevers, let all my radical, essential, necessary juices and humours, (though never so well and firmly congealed by the force of an excellent and happy constitution of body) melt and dissolve away, in horrid fluxes, sweats, &c. rather than baulk my friends, or the Grand Signior's cause, rather than sneak away from boon companions, in a principle of sordid prudence! To speak all, I am no starter from the juice of the grape, when it is handed to me by men of sense and good humour, especially when it is to serve my sovereign; and I know not how to perform

that ſervice better, at ſome times, than by giving nature an eſcapade, as the French call it, from the too ſevere reſtraints of conſtant ſobriety: I was not ſent to Paris, that I ſhould lead the life of an hadgi, but to dive into the ſecrets of the infidels, which a man cannot do better than over a glaſs of generous wine, for that unlocks the cabinets of the heart, and reveals all ſecrets.

I tell thee plainly, Mehemet, I drink wine liberally and frequently, finding no devil in the quality of it, but only in the exceſs; and ſuch a devil appeared to me laſt week, in the night-time; I had carouſed it like a German for ſome whole days together, in order to the carrying on an intrigue of moment, yet I found myſelf no ways diſorder'd, neither could any body elſe perceive, by one falſe ſtep in my carriage, that I was more than civilly and cheerfully elevated.

It was the hotteſt ſeaſon in all the year, which prompted me, and thoſe that kept me company, to regale ourſelves after the moſt refreſhing manner we could invent: our drink was an artificial mixture of the wine, water, the juice of lemons, odoriferous and cephalic herbs, fruits, and whatſoever elſe could render it cooling and delicious to the palate, medicinal to the brain, heart, and ſtomach.

I will not detain thee in impatience with any more particularities, only I thought it neceſſary to acquaint thee with the method of my drinking, that thou mayeſt form the more accurate judgment on the conſequence which I am going to relate.

It was in the evening of the day dedicated to Saturn by the Gentiles (which is the ſame as the Jews Sabbath); our drinking ended the day before, and I, in a very melancholy humour, went to bed; I ſlept till midnight profoundly, but then awaking, I was ſurpriſed with the ap-

partition of an old man, much reſembling myſelf; he ſeemed to look very ſtudious, and full of care, ſitting in a chair, and leaning on the table, in juſt ſuch an habit as I wear, with ſuch a beard, and every thing that can be called my true portraiture; I by muſing and gazing for the ſpace of about twenty minutes on this amazing object; I muſtered up all that little philoſophy I am maſter of, to conſider the nature of the phantaſm; I argued with myſelf, ſummoned all my reaſon, ſubpœnaed my ſenſes, ſat up in the bed, took my polvita, reached my head as far as I could without tumbling out of the bed, and the more I roufed myſelf, the plainer did this familiar figure of myſelf appear by the light of a lamp which always burns in my chamber.

Yet being naturally incredulous of the common ſtories of ghoſts, apparitions, hobgobling, &c. I ſtill ſuſpect that I was either all this while in a dream, or at leaſt, if awake, that my imagination was vitiated and impoſed upon; wherefore, to ſatisfy myſelf more thoroughly, I jumped out of the bed; no ſooner had my feet touched the floor of the chamber, but a ſacred horror poſſeſſed my nerves; I trembled at the now more apparent viſion; however, reſuming courage, and reſigning myſelf to God, I went forward, and approached ſo near the uncouth ſpectre, that it was within the reach of my hand, which I ſtretched forth to touch it, thinking this way to undeceive myſelf; but, O my Mehemet! no tongue nor pen can ever expreſs the dreadful metamorphoſis I ſaw; for inſtead of the ſame face which I ſaw before, my eyes were now accoſted with the dreadful countenance of a lion, guaſhing his teeth, and darting perfect ſparks of fire from his looks, beſides the horrid twirling of his head, and manly beard, with all the other natural motions of that animal in its fierceneſs.

I know not what would have become of me, if a good-natured ape had not come in to my relief, who peeped and grinned upon me over the lion's ſhoulders; nay, thought I, if you are ſo merry in ſuch company, I will not diſturb you, good Mr. Ape! and ſo I fairly took my leave, turned my back, and went to bed again.

It is my nature not to be afraid, or ſhrink from the imagination of a ghoſt or ſpectre, or what you pleaſe to call it, for I am ſatisfied there is no more than pure imagination in it; but I retired in complaiſance to my own fancy, which I perceived was upon the creative frolic; had I ſtood ſtill, perhaps a dragon had ſtarted next, or ſome more dreadful animal; or it is poſſible I had been terrified with a herd of lynxes, leopards, tigers, bears, and whatſoever elſe is ſavage and moroſe in nature; for I tell thee I was then in a condition to paint the walls with any figure which ſhould riſe within my overheated brains.

At ſuch a time there are emiſſions from the eyes, forcible as the pencils of a limner; a man's fermented optic nerves will draw the portraiture of ſaints or devils, or any thing that can be named, except the Everlaſting Source of all things.

He indeed is altogether ineffable, who cannot be expreſſed by tongue or pen, or by any other way, but humble negatives; there runs a ſilent fountain by the door of his tremendous and inviolate receſs, of which the caſtrate angels drink at certain ſet appointed ſeaſons, and then the univerſe is all inebriated with the reverſion of his cup; for it is the decreement of the court above, that he ſhould leave no ſnuffs or ſupernaculums behind him, but ſcatter them abroad, to treat the thirſty world below. Bleſſed is the man who has a ſhare in this celeſtial compotation.

Pardon me for thus digreſſing in perfect piety; for we ought not to name the High and Holy One without additional reverence.

In ſhort, I lay but the ſpace of half an hour gazing on this odd kind of appariſion, which had now reſumed my phyſiognomy again; at laſt it vaniſhed all on a ſudden, whilſt my eyes were intently fixed upon it. It is impoſſible to expreſs exactly the manner how it diſappeared; but according to the beſt idea, and propereſt form of words I have, it ſeemed to be diſperſed juſt as a ſmoke or vapour is reſolved or rarefied into the purer air, or as the moon's pale light, which ſhines within your chamber, is unawares extinguiſhed in appearance by ſome intervening cloud; ſo did this ſpectre fade and melt away.

If thou wilt have my judgment in this caſe, I think there was nothing in it but the pure force and energy of my over-agitated ſpirits, which darted the impreſſion of their own ideas on the next ſolid body that was within the ſphere of their activity: The air itſelf at ſuch a time is more than ordinary flexible and ductile; it yields by ſympathy, and is conformable to the tranſient image; it helps to patch up the defects and ragged forms of our frail fancies; millions of atoms run to relieve the weakened half-ſpent efflux of their attractive and magnetic kindred particles; pell-mell they ruſh together, yet fall into their proper ranks without diſorder or confuſion; every one ſtops a gap, prevents a vacuum, and ſo the abortive figure is completed. Nature is ſometimes pleaſed thus to divert herſelf with ſtrange chimeras; even ſo this world of ours was formed, if we may believe Democritus and Epicurus.

Thou and I, my dear Mehemet, are but two different lumps of particles, tacked and ſtitched and glewed together by the birdlime of chance.

I wish, when that glew shall be dissolved, we may scamper at large in the endless element of light.

Paris, 3d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1679.

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## X.—*To the* CALIDESQUER *of Romeli.*

My mind is at this time in an astral disposition, as they call it, tender, and receptive of any impressions; I am like a young libertine newly converted from his lewd courses and impiety, whose heart a devout compunction and remorse of sin has softened, opened, and, as it were, dissolved like wax, so that it becomes equally capable of any new stamp, whether of vice or virtue. Thus pliable and ductile am I at present, through a kind of fatal supineness or inactivity of spirit, which takes from me the power of forming one substantial, lively thought of my own, or exerting any strong and laborious act of reason, yet at the same time lays me open to the invasion of all foreign ideas, and exposes me to be taken captive by every bold argument, or sly ambush of human sophistry. In a word, I am of a sudden so weak and unmortified, that I dare not enter the field of religious controversies, or so much as stand and behold the battle between the different sects that are perpetually disputing against one another in the world, lest a random shot from one party or other should reach my unguarded soul, and give my intellect a mortal wound.

Forbearing therefore to enlarge in giving thee a particular account of all the nice differences that are of late years sprung up among these western infidels, in matters of opinion and church discipline, I will only inform thee in short, that those who first revolted from the Bishop of Rome, still retained an inviolable attach and dutiful reve-

rence for their own national biſhops, ſubmitting to their conduct, and owning them as fathers and guides of their reſpective churches.

But as there is no end of diviſions, when once the unity of a people is broken, which is the only cement that faſtens all ſocieties, ſo this firſt ſeparation from the Roman epiſcopacy ſoon begat another from all epiſcopacy in general, through moſt of the reformed or Proteſtant nations in Europe, eſpecially in Scotland, the theatre of many bickerings and animoſities on this account, of bloody combats, and civil wars, and, finally, now in this year, the ſtage of a barbarous murder committed on the perſon of the chief mufti, or archbiſhop of that nation.

He was a man of an accurate and extraordinary ſpirit, and in his very youth gave early marks of a refined genius in ſciences, to which he brought no ſmall reputation and honour through the vaſtneſs of his abilities, his profound judgment, and dexterous ſagacity in all things that he undertook.

This is the character given him by thoſe of his nation reſident here in Paris, of whom there are always great numbers; and the Kings of France were formerly never without a ſelect guard of Scots about their perſons, which cuſtom had been obſerved ever ſince the reigns of Charles the Great, and of Achaius King of the Scots, between whom this was agreed upon in a ſolemn league, and was obſerved through the reigns of one and forty Kings of France, and ſix and forty of Scotland. The Scots alſo uſed to ſend their auxiliary forces in time of war; nay, ſo great was the affection, and ſo conſtant the fidelity of that people to the French, that when at one time a war has threatened France, they have drawn it into their own country, have ſuffered the loſs of ten thouſand men in one battle, and ſeen their king taken cap-

tive; at another time, fighting for the French againſt the Engliſh, though inhabiting the ſame iſland with themſelves, they have had fourteen thouſand of their ſoldiers, with their king, killed upon the ſpot.

And that nothing might be wanting to confirm and eſtabliſh the friendſhip of nations, it was cuſtomary to make reciprocal marriages one with another, that ſo the French and Scots blood might be mutually mixed in both countries.

Thus Lewis XI. when he was Dauphin of France, married Margaret, daughter of James I. King of Scotland; at which time the grandees and courtiers of France, in imitation of the dauphin's example, (ſuch is the force of *French* compliſance) married above an hundred and forty Scots ladies of illuſtrious birth and quality, among whom were two ſiſters of the Scots queen, one becoming wife to the Duke of Little Bretagne, the other to the Count of Flanders: The Scots nobility, on the other hand, married many French ladies of great extraction, tranſporting them to Scotland, where they ſettled and bore children.

The Kings of France being moved with gratitude for the frequent aids and good offices they received from the Scots, as alſo regarding the loſſes which the Scots had ſuſtained in their quarrels, and the ſtrict affinities that were made between the princes, nobles, and other people of both nations, reſolved to teſtify to the world how acceptable this obſequiouſneſs of the Scots was to them, by honouring them with benefits and privileges above all other nations.

Therefore, ſome of the Scots grandees were made great conſtables of France, which is the greateſt office of dignity in the kingdom, next to that of the ſovereignty itſelf; others were made marſhals, dukes, and

peers of France, generals of the French armies, viceroys of tributary provinces and kingdoms: All the Scots in general were had in high honour and eſteem at the French court, and enjoyed the ſame rights and immunities as the very natives themſelves, by the ſpecial grant of Henry II. but with this condition, that they ſhould perſevere in their fidelity and friendſhip to the French, and that the French who dwelt in any part of Scotland ſhould enjoy the ſame rights and privileges as the natives of the country. The Parliament of Paris ſubſcribed to this grant, and it was confirmed by Henry IV. about the year 1599.

Likewiſe Charles XI. confirmed to the Scots merchants all thoſe privileges and immunities which their anceſtors had enjoyed, that they ſhould be free from all exactions, impoſts, and cuſtoms, which are uſually paid for merchandiſes.

As to the original riſe of the Scots guards about the French king's perſon, I will tell thee as briefly as I can.

Lewis, who acquired the title of ſaint, for warring in perſon againſt the muſſulmans, when he marched towards Paleſtine, appointed four-and-twenty Scots ſoldiers to have the guard of his perſon night and day; Charles V. augmenting their number to ſeventy-ſix, yet ſtill reſerving this honour for the firſt four-and-twenty, that they ſhould have the command of the reſt.

Thus the cuſtody of the king's body remained with the Scots for the ſpace of ſeventy years and upwards; Charles VII. being willing to oblige the French, appointed a guard of them to be about his perſon under one ſtandard; Lewis X. added another ſtandard; and Francis I. adjoined a third; but without intrenching on the prerogatives of the twenty-four Scots, which they ſtill enjoyed by right of antiquity and preſcription, as alſo by the ſanction of St. Lewis, for whom the French profeſs

a great veneration. Theſe twenty-four Scots kept the keys of the royal palace after ſun-ſet; they alone guarded the king when he was in the temple at maſs; they alone carried the king, when the laſt of the land, and the ceremonies of ſtate required him to be carried on men's ſhoulders; they guarded the ſhips when the king went by water; and to them were the keys of every town delivered through which the king paſſed in his travels by land, with many other ſingular honours.

But after the death of Henry II. when the Earl of Montgomery, the laſt commander of the Scots guards, was removed from his office, and a French officer placed over them in his ſtead, that command always fell into the hands of Frenchmen, who by degrees ſubſtituting thoſe of their own nation in the room of the Scots who died, it came to paſs at length that there remained but a very few Scots in the guards, and thoſe were bereft of all their ancient privileges.

Pardon this tedious digreſſion, great patriarch of the faithful, ſince it contains ſome curious memoirs in it; and I naturally fell into it by ſpeaking of the Scots, who are very numerous in Paris to this day, and from whom I learned the foregoing character of their murdered archbiſhop, who was the prime patriarch of all the land, his ordinary title being Archbiſhop of St. Andrews.

This great and higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignity was given him by the preſent King of England, at his return from a twelve years exile, as a debt to his great abilities, and a reward of his merits and ſervices, in labouring might and main to effect the king's reſtoration.

From the moment that he acquired this honour, ſuch as were equally enemies to the government of kings and biſhops perſecuted him with ſlanders and invectives; the ſtreets ſwarmed with libels againſt him, and men's tongues

were as busy as their pens in railing at him, because he was resolved to endeavour his utmost that episcopacy might be restored in Scotland as it was in England, though it had been subverted in both nations during the usurpation of Oliver the tyrant. It was this drew upon him the malice and revenge of the seditious, and they spared not in public to threaten his death; nay, some years before he was murdered, one of these furiosos shot at him in the open streets of Edinburgh, but missed him; then the seditious published libels, wherein they gloried in the attempt, and only were sorry that it took not effect; they also propheſied that he should die a violent death; and it was easy for them to presage this which they were resolved to execute themselves.

Accordingly in the 3d and 4th moons of this year, they were ready to give the fatal blow, but his watchfulness prevented them; however, on the 3d of the moon of May, as he was travelling with his eldest daughter in his coach, with two or three servants attending him, he was set upon at mid-day by nine of these religious ruffians, who having first wounded his beloved daughter, to enhance his dying grief, then hacked and hewed him in a butcherly and barbarous manner, till at length they left him dead on the spot.

Venerable cadilesquer, I pray God defend thee from popular envy, malice, and revenge, from the wounds given by the pens of libellers, and the tongues of the spiteful; but above all, I pray Heaven guard thee from being massacred by religious assassins and bloody zealots.

Paris, 17th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1679.

XI.—*To* Hebatolla, *Mir Argun, Superior of the Dervises at Cogni in Natolia.*

Doubtless there never was any creature formed of flesh and blood comparable to the Messias, no mortal like the Son of Mary; Jesus was replenished with all the natural excellencies and perfections of the universe.

I am not so profane or presumptuous as to think or say any thing in contempt of Mahomet, though I take the liberty to celebrate the high praises of the Word Incarnate the first-born, and most illustrious of all beings on this side the Eternal Father; the Holy Ghost itself comes behind him.

When the Everlasting Intellect had from indeterminate ages lain dreaming on the soft and downy bed of chaos, or the first matter, in the grand cabin of uncircumscribed darkness, and enveloped with the curtains of old night; when he had tumbled, tossed, and rolled from side to side; when he had stretched his endless limbs for ease, to seek one corner of the infinite expanse, where he might abate the sempiternal heat of love, at last he fixed his foot upon the cool idea of this world of ours.

Then sprang the Word from the all-fertile womb; the melancholy sad abyss rejoiced; for in the Word was light and life, which darting through the eternal heap of sluggish and inactive matter, with divine chemistry first drew an extract of the purest parts which formed the firmament; next rose the sun, the moon, and stars, and then the grosser elements, with all their different productions.

These are the generations of the universe, when God made the heavens and the earth, and the angels started out of the grand energy like volatile spirits from Balneo Mariæ.

All things visible and invisible proceed from the Word, and the most excellent of created beings owe their original to him that was the only instrument by which the Eternal Architect contrived and framed this vast machine, so incomprehensible and glorious.

O Hebatolla! who can enough admire this mighty product of the Eternal Mind? And yet the greatest and most excellent theatre of beings is hid from mortal eyes. Therefore leaving those high and lofty speculations, let us descend to the Word Incarnate, or the Breath of God, walking and conversing on earth with men, in the humble disguise of flesh and blood. The same was the Messiah of the Christians, as the Alcoran in several places assures us, and the Christian gospel of the Eagle confirms it, where it says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, &c. and the Word became flesh, and pitched his tent among us."

Doubtless he was conceived of the Virgin Mary by the smell of that rose which the angel Gabriel brought to her from paradise; for he was not begot by the will of man, or through the lust of concupiscence, but by a sudden infusion of the divine virtue. The power of the Omnipotent overshadowed, surprised, and ravished the lady quaid in a transport of joy; she took the flower from the hand of Gabriel, which she had no sooner smelt to, but she was ready to dissolve and faint away in an ecstacy of love; but the angel cherished her with comfortable words, and she became resigned to the will of the All-merciful and Gracious.

At the end of nine months Jesus was born of her, not after the manner of other children; for as the book of mysterious secrets tells us, "He came forth from between her breasts, wrapt up in a mantle of aromatic roses."

The daughters of paradiſe came down and waited on the virgin mother, at the hour of her unſpeakable childbirth; they took the holy infant in their arms, and over the veſture of his nativity they put on garments brought from Eden, robes of their own handiwork, and then they fed him with the wine and milk of paradiſe: after they had performed what was neceſſary to the infant Meſſias, and his immaculate mother, the heavenly maids returned to their bliſsful ſeats above, and ſent down Ariel, with a choir of angels, to declare the birth of Jeſus to this world below, and to celebrate the high praiſes of God: They were ſeen in the upper regions of the air, by certain ſhepherds who watched the flocks by night; their voices were alſo heard from afar, chanting aloud the hymns of Eden, and the ſelect anthems of paradiſe; great was the aſtoniſhment of thoſe rude and ignorant mortals; their eyes were dazzled at the luſtre of the heavenly troop, and their ears were ravithed with the ſuppoſitive ſweetneſs of the muſic; thoſe that were upon the roads of Judea, the caravans of Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, the travellers from Damaſcus, Tyre, and Sidon, ſaw the ſurpriſing viſion; they were equally ſeized with wonder and joy; they heard the harmonious tongues of angels warbling forth immortal melodies; then their hearts melted within them, and they proſtrated themſelves on the earth, and praiſed the Moſt High, the King of all things.

The fame of ſuch extraordinary events ſoon ſpread through the adjacent regions, and to the utmoſt borders of the South: The Magi of Perſia made a pilgrimage to Bethlehem, to viſit the infant Meſſias; they fell down at the feet of the holy babe, preſenting him with gifts, gold, incenſe, and myrrh.

Thus Jesus grew up, increasing in wisdom, knowledge, and virtue.

I will not run over the history of his life, having done that already in one of my former letters to thee: all that I aim at in this dispatch, is, to testify the profound veneration I have for that most Holy Prophet, who was no other than the breath and word of God incarnate. It becomes all good mussulmans to speak of him with honour and reverence, for he is seated on high, and in paradise, where are the approaches to God.

O Hebatolla! pray for Mahmut, that the entanglements of this mortal life may not hinder him from sitting with Jesus and Mahomet in the kingdom of everlasting bliss.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1679.

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## XII.—*To* Kerker Hassan, *Bassa.*

Thou requirest an account of the present state of England, with a character of their king, in regard there are various rumours among the merchants at the imperial city, of certain commotions and rebellious essays of malcontents in that island.

The name of the king who reigns there at present is Charles II. eldest son of Charles I. and heir apparent of the British crowns; for his empire consists of three kingdoms, which he has in actual possession, besides many vast territories and dominions in America, not to insist on his titular claim to the realm of France.

He is a prince of great wit and policy, nor of less courage where a just occasion requires the discovery of that virtue; he underwent innumerable hardships and misfortunes during his twelve years exile from his native throne,

forced to fly into foreign countries by a prevailing faction of rebels, tyrants, and uſurpers; of humour debonair and amorous; much addicted to wine and women; munificent in his gifts and rewards to perſons of merit, and to thoſe who have the happineſs to pleaſe him in his recreations, eſpecially to his concubines, who are moſt of them nobly extracted. By theſe females he has had ſeveral ſons, who are all dukes and peers of the realm; he is in peace with all the world abroad, except the Moors of Sallee; yet this prince cannot be called happy, in that he is harraſſed at home by domeſtic ſeditions, factions, plots, and conſpiracies of his own ſubjects.

Here is a report that the Roman catholics of that nation have lately attemped to take away the life of this monarch; whilſt others ſay this accuſation is forged by their enemies, to render them odious, and that to this end they have ſuborned falſe witneſſes to ſwear againſt them. One does not know what to believe among ſo many contrary rumours; neither does it much concern us that are muſſulmans, whether party of theſe infidels be right or wrong.

This prince, as I have ſaid before, has ſeveral nations under his dominion, and it is thought he ſcarce knows the juſt extent of his territories in America: There is a region in that continent inhabited by a people whom they call Tuſcoraras and Doegs; their language is the ſame as is ſpoken by the Britiſh, or Welſh, a nation that formerly poſſeſſed all the iſland of Great Britain, but were by degrees driven out of it into a mountainous corner of the iſland, where their poſterity remain to this day.

Thoſe Tuſcoraras and Doegs of America are thought to deſcend from them, being the poſterity of ſuch as followed the fortune of one Madoc, a Britiſh prince, who, about five or ſix hundred years ago, being diſcontented at

home, reſolved to ſeek adventures abroad; wherefore, being provided with ſhips, men, and all other neceſſaries, he made a voyage towards the Weſt over the Atlantic ocean, not knowing what would be the event of his undertaking; however, the moon had ſcarce twice completed her voyage through the zodiac, when an end was put to his on the ſea, by landing in America, where he planted a colony of Britons, and then returned to his native country; but ſoon after he put to ſea again, and ſailed directly to the ſame place. What became of him afterwards is not certainly known; but the inhabitants of that province have a tradition, "that he lived to a great age, and ſaw his people multiplied to many thouſands before he died:" For in the ſecond voyage he carried over Britiſh women with him for the ſake of poſterity. They ſhow his tomb to this day, with beads, crucifixes, and other relics.

It is certain that when the Spaniards firſt conquered Mexico, they were ſurpriſed to hear the inhabitants diſcourſe of a ſtrange people that formerly came thither in corraughs, who taught them the knowledge of God and of immortality, inſtructed them alſo in virtue and morality, and preſcribed holy rites and ceremonies of religion. It is remarkable alſo, what an Indian king ſaid to a Spaniard, viz. "That in foregoing ages, a ſtrange people arrived there by ſea, to whom his anceſtors gave hoſpitable entertainment, in regard they found them men of wit and courage, endowed alſo with many other excellencies; but he could give no account of their original or name." And Montezuma, Emperor of Mexico, told Fernando Cortez, the Spaniſh King's ambaſſador, and general in thoſe parts, "That his own anceſtors landed there as ſtrangers, being conducted by a certain great man, who tarried there a while, and then departed, having left a conſiderable number of his followers behind him: After a year, he re-

turned again with a greater company; and that from him the Emperors of Mexico derived their pedigree, and his subjects from the reſt." The Britiſh language is ſo prevalent here, that the very towns, bridges, beaſts, birds, rivers, hills, &c. are called by Britiſh or Welſh names; and a certain inhabitant of Virginia (a place ſubject to the King of Great Britain) ſtraggling not long ago into the wilderneſs, by chance fell among a people, who, according to ſome law or cuſtom of theirs, condemned him to death, when he, in the hearing of them, made his prayer to God in the Britiſh tongue, upon which he was releaſed.

Who can tell the various tranſmigrations of mortals on earth, or trace out the true originals of any people? The whole globe has ſuffered divers changes, and every particular nation has had its metempſychoſis. What grows obſolete and antiquated in one country becomes a new diſcovery in another; the houſes of the living are built on the bones of the dead; children lay the foundation of their grandeur in the ruin of their fathers; and the generations to come will practiſe this chemiſtry on our relics that are now living; they will extract their fortune out of our aſhes.

By the white ſtone which Adam brought with him out of paradiſe, and which fell by inheritance to Abraham, Iſmael, and his offspring for ever; that ſtone which at this day lies under the moſque at Mecca, and grows black by the touch of ſinners; I ſwear the Arabians are an aboriginal people, a nation eſtabliſhed from all antiquity, a ſtayed race, not canted up and down hither and thither by every caprice of fortune.

Wherefore be aſſured, noble Arab, that beſides my particular obligations, I honour thee for the ſake of thy deſcent, thy purified blood, and pacific temper; wiſhing

for nothing more ardently than the happineſs of kiſſing the border of thy veſt in this life, or at leaſt of ſeeing thee in the paradiſe of perpetual reſt, from whence there are no farther tranſmigrations.

Paris, 2d of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1679.

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XIII.—*To the moſt magnanimous and invincible Viſier,* AZIM.

In the 4th moon of this year, I ſent thee an account of the treaties concluded and publiſhed between France and the Hollanders, as alſo of a peace eſtabliſhed with the German empire; now I ſhall acquaint thee that a like agreement is publiſhed with Spain; the two haughty monarchs ſeem perfectly reconciled; and to convince the world that they are ſo really, the King of Spain has married this king's daughter.

The Marquis de los Balbaſes made his public entry into Paris on the 11th of the 6th moon, in quality of ambaſſador-extraordinary from the catholic King; and his chief buſineſs was, to teſtify the ſincere joy and ſatisfaction his maſter took in the hopes he had of ſeeing a laſting peace ſettled, not only between theſe two crowns, but alſo throughout Europe; that ſo the Chriſtian princes, whoſe arms had been hitherto employed againſt one another, to the general detriment of Chriſtendom, might now be united againſt the common enemy, by which he meant the faithful Ottomans. In order to this, he deſired that the daughter of France might be given to his maſter in marriage, as a confirmation of the peace between them.

This was ſoon granted him; and the news was no ſooner arrived at Madrid, but the Spaniſh king expreſſed a more than common complacency, cauſing the *Te Deum*

to be publicly ſung, to give God thanks for ſo great a happineſs. The ſtreets of Madrid were illuminated alſo with all manner of fire-works; but the ceremony of betrothing was not performed till the 8th moon; it was done at Fontainbleau, the court being there at that time, and the Marquis de los Balbaſes was the King of Spain's proxy. After which time, Mademoiſelle, as they called her before, held her rank at court as Queen of Spain; and in that quality ſhe received the compliments and addreſſes of the Archbiſhop of Paris, at the head of his chapter; as alſo of the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, the court of moneys, the univerſity, and ſo of the great council, and the French academy. Now this great princeſs is gone towards Spain, to take poſſeſſion of her new royalty, which is no better than a ſplendid ſervitude or glorious impriſonment during her life; for the laws and cuſtoms concerning women are as ſeverely obſerved in the court of Spain as in any part of that country, and the queen herſelf is no more exempted from keeping them than the meaneſt of her ſubjects. There are certain ſet hours, out of which ſhe cannot ſee ſo much as the king himſelf; for his time is parcelled out, and divided between the ſervice of the public and of his own perſonal neceſſities, the affairs of ſtate, of religion, and of nature; ſo that the queen muſt be altogether ſhut up from the ſight of men, unleſs it be when any ambaſſador has audience of her, or when ſhe goes to church, or to ſee the public ſport of bull-baiting, with ſuch like ſpectacles, or laſtly, when her confeſſor comes to viſit her; at other times ſhe is only a companion of women, a mere recluſe, chambered up in her own melancholy apartment, without the liberty of ranging the palace; whereas, in France the women converſe with men, and go abroad when they pleaſe, with an unreſtrained freedom; they diſcourſe of

ſtate matters, and of religion; they undertake to cenſure both civil and canon laws, correct philoſophy, and reform the morals of the ancients; in a word, the French ladies take a particular pride in appearing very learned and knowing, as if they had been educated in the academies; they alſo go a-hunting, hawking, fiſhing, and fowling, even as the men: There is hardly any game or exerciſe, ſtudy or recreation, which is not common to both ſexes; whereas the Spaniſh females are kept in ignorance, and have no more liberty than captives; only, as I ſaid, the queen is permitted to ſee the bull-baitings, but it muſt be in company with her huſband, as well as other ladies.

This celebrated ſport of baiting, or courſing the bull, is ſo well known to thee who haſt been an eye-witneſs of it at Tunis, and other cities of Barbary, that I need ſay no more of it, but to obſerve that the Spaniards firſt learned it from the Moors, when thoſe Africans dwelt among them, having conquered that kingdom.

But to return to the ſervile life which the Queens of Spain lead: They are obliged to go to bed at a certain preciſe ſtroke of the clock every night, with this only difference, that it is an hour later in ſummer than in winter. Beſides her, there is no other married woman ſuffered to lie in the king's palace, ſo that the queen is attended only by virgins or widows; neither can ſhe herſelf ever marry again after the king's death; and ſo naturally jealous are the Spaniards of their wives, that if the queen fall into any diſaſter, by chance or conſpiracy, as to be thrown down by her gennet, even to the breaking of her limbs and hazard of her life, none of her pages, nor any other man whatſoever, dares to lift her up, or any other way aſſiſt her, nay, not ſo much as by ſtopping the horſe, if he ſhould drag her in the ſtirrup. Judge now, magnificent viſier, whether it be a deſirable thing for a French

princeſs to be made Queen of Spain. A princeſs bred up in a court abounding with all ſorts of gentileſſes, gallantries, and delightful liberties, muſt needs think herſelf in a monaſtery, or ſome worſe place of confinement, after ſhe has been but a day or two in the court of Spain. But reaſons of ſtate ſuperſede all theſe inconveniencies. It is the peculiar unhappineſs of the princes here in the Weſt, that they marry for intereſt more than for love.

There is another match going forward between the Dauphin of France, and the Princeſs Anna Maria Victoire, ſiſter to the Duke of Bavaria; theſe infidels are uniting their ſcattered ſtrengths and intereſts; it looks as if they had ſome ſecret deſign againſt the true believers.

Illuſtrious prince of the princes who ſerve the Grand Signior, I pray that the empire of the faithful may be exalted, and ſtand firm till the angel of the cave ſound his trumpet.

Paris, 10th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1679.

## XIV.—*To the Venerable* Mufti.

That I may give thee a clearer idea of Rome's original, it is neceſſary to ſtep farther backward in antiquity, and caſt our eyes on the ruins of Troy, ſet on fire by the Greeks, and laid in aſhes after a war of ten years, to revenge the rape of Helena, wife to Menelaus, whom Paris the Trojan prince, and gueſt to Menelaus, carried away with him by force.

From the deplorable flames of Troy, Antenor and Æneas eſcaped, and got to ſea; the former being forced by diſtreſs of weather on that part of Italy which is now under the dominion of Venice, where he built Padua;

the latter came with a fleet of two-and-twenty ships to Latium, now called Campagna di Roma, and St. Peter's Patrimony, being the eſtate of the church.

At that time Latinus, the ſon of Faunus, or, as ſome ſay, of Hercules, reigned in Latium, before whom there had been but four kings in the country; thoſe were Janus, Saturnus, Picus, and Faunus. Whilſt Janus reigned, Saturn being expelled by his ſon Jupiter, fled to Italy, where being hoſpitably received, he built a caſtle, calling it after his own name Saturnia; at length he obtained the kingdom of Latium, which he left to his ſon Picus, and he to Faunus.

In his time, Evander failed out of Arcadia, and came to Italy, ſixty years before the deſtruction of Troy; he built a town called Pallantium, where afterwards Rome was built. Much about the ſame time the Pelaſgians went out of Theſſaly into Epirus and Dodona firſt, and then paſſing over into Italy, joined themſelves with the aboriginal Arcadians, who were got thither before them; theſe united their forces, and expelled the Sicilians from the country, who paſſing over to Trinacria, or the iſland of Three Capes, gave it the name of Sicilia, which it retains to this day. When Evander had been five years in Italy, Hercules, with a company of Greeks, landing on the ſame ſhore, was kindly entertained by him.

At length the kingdom of Latium fell to Latinus, in whoſe reign Æneas came thither, and having entered into a league with Latinus, married his daughter Lavinia, from whoſe name he called a town which he built in thoſe parts Lavinium. Then Turnus, King of the Rutuli, being angry that Latinus had given his daughter to a ſtranger, rather than to him who was a native, and to whom ſhe was before betrothed, invaded his country; but the Rutuli were overcome in battle, and both Turnus and

Latinus loſt their lives, ſo that the kingdom fell to Æneas; but he enjoyed it not long; for the Rutuli, at three years end, came againſt him, under the conduct of Mezentius, King of the Tyrrhenians, now called Tuſcans; and Æneas being killed in the battle, his ſon Aſcanius took poſſeſſion of the kingdom. He having made peace with Mezentius, and quelled the reſt of his enemies, built a city which he called Longa Alba, the thirtieth year from the building of Lavinium. In this city of Longa Alba, there reigned after Aſcanius fourteen kings, even to the time of Romulus, and the foundation of Rome; the fourteenth of theſe kings was Amulius, who over-reached his brother Numitor, to whom the kingdom belonged by right of primogeniture; and to be ſecure of all things, he made Sylvia, the only daughter of Numitor, a veſtal, that he might have no fear of Numitor's poſterity; yet Sylvia was got with child by ſomebody, and brought forth twins, who were called Romulus and Remus: Theſe were expoſed to the wide world by the command of King Amulius, and privately nouriſhed by Fauſtulus, till they came of years; then being informed of their birth and extraction, with the true ſtate of things, they ſlew Amulius, and reſtored their grandfather Numitor to his kingdom, in the ſecond year of whoſe reign, Romulus built the city of Rome.

In the eighteenth year of his age, Romulus was ſaluted king, when he had killed his brother Remus, for leaping in contempt over the ditch he had made round the city: Thus he conſecrated the fortifications of the city with his own blood. But all this while Romulus had built but the ſhadow of a city, ſince there was no inhabitants to people and defend it; however, he quickly pitched upon a method to ſupply this defect; there was a grove hard by, which he made a ſanctuary for all perſons in diſtreſs, and

who were willing to make their fortunes upon hazard: This was proclaimed in the neighbouring regions, and an innumerable multitude of criminals, debtors, and malecontents, flocked thither from all parts, beſides ſhepherds and other perſons, who only through a natural inconſtancy ſought a change of life; ſo that there was a gallimaufry of Trojans who came over with Æneas, of Arcadians who followed Evander, and of ſeveral other nations, beſides the natives of Tuſcany and Latium; out of theſe, as out of ſo many elements, Romulus extracted the body of a commonwealth; but he conſidered withal, that this new republic could not ſubſiſt beyond the age and lives of thoſe men who formed it, they being without hopes of poſterity, as having no women among them: To provide for this inconvenience, they treated with the bordering people about marriages, which being denied them, they had recourſe to ſtratagems and violence; they invited the Sabines and other neighbours to come and ſee ſome plays, which they promiſed to exhibit in honour of Neptune.

The bait took, and multitudes of both ſexes, eſpecially the younger ſort, thronged thither to be ſpectators of the Roman novelties; when on a ſudden, a certain ſignal being given, the Romans leaped from their places, and ruſhing among the ſtrangers, every man ſeized the female that beſt pleaſed him, or that firſt came to hand, and made her his wife.

This was the cauſe of ſpeedy wars; for the neighbouring people, who had been thus robbed of their women, took up arms to revenge the injury; but they were routed, put to flight, and one of their towns laid waſte; the Romans alſo took rich ſpoils from them, which they conſecrated to their gods.

In the mean time the city of Rome was delivered into the hands of the Sabines, by Tarpeia a virgin, who, as ſome ſay, was corrupted with gold by Tatius, the captain of the Sabines; whilſt others affirm that ſhe did it innocently, and with a deſign to ſave the city, inſtead of betraying it; for ſhe aſked, as a reward of her ſuppoſed treaſon, the ſhields of the Sabines, thinking, that being thus in part diſarmed, they might eaſily be overcome by the Romans; but they, ſenſible of her ſtratagem, promiſed what ſhe demanded, and performed it accordingly, but in ſuch a manner as plainly diſcovered their revenge of an injury, rather than their gratitude for a kindneſs; for they threw their ſhields ſo thick upon her, that they preſſed her to death.

Then entering the city pell-mell, there commenced a furious battle between the Romans and the Sabines; the ſtreets flowed with blood, till the wives of the Romans, for whoſe ſake this war began, came tearing their hair, and ruſhing between the two armies, at length brought them to a truce and agreement: Then a ſolemn league was made between Romulus and Tatius; and what is more wonderful, the Sabines leaving their native ſeats, came with all their wealth to live in Rome, communicating part of their riches to their ſon-in-law by way of dowery.

The forces of the Romans being thus increaſed by the ſecceſſion of the Sabines, Romulus applied himſelf to the public adminiſtration with all care and policy: He appointed the youth to be always in arms on horſeback, that they might be conſtantly upon their guard, and ready equipped againſt the ſurpriſes of war; that the chief council of the commonwealth ſhould conſiſt of the ſeniors, who were called fathers for their authority, and ſenators for their age.

Affairs being thus disposed, one day, when there was a full senate, Romulus being present was on a sudden taken from their sight: Some think he was murdered by conspiracy, and cut into small pieces by the senators; others say he was poisoned; but the general report was that he was deified. Julius Proculus was the author of this, who taking notice that there arose a violent tempest at the same instant that Romulus disappeared, and that the sun was just then eclipsed, insinuated to the people that Romulus was become a god; nay, he took an oath, that he saw him in a much more august form than whilst he was a mortal; and that Romulus commanded them to adore him for a god, affirming that he was called Quirinus in heaven, and assuring them that Rome should conquer the whole earth.

Numa Pompilius succeeded Romulus, being invited to the kingdom by the Romans, who had a veneration for him on the bare fame of his sanctity and religion: He taught them holy rites and ceremonies, with whatsoever pertained to the worship of the immortal gods; he divided the year into twelve months, and appointed the holidays; he ordained the pontiffs, augurs, salii, with other ranks of priests; he gave them the Ancilia and Palladium, which came down from heaven; and he instituted the vestal fire; in a word, he persuaded them, that whatsoever he taught them, he received from the goddess Egeria, and this wrought so efficaciously on the minds of the rude and ignorant people, that they came at length to govern that empire with justice and religion, which they got by robbery and oppression.

Prince of the multitude I will reserve the rest of the Roman history for another dispatch.

Paris, 7th of the 1st Month, of the Year 1080.

XV.—*To* WILLIAM VOSPEL, *a Recluse of Austria.*

THY last letter appears magisterial and peremptory, like a summons from the inquisition: Thou requirest an account of my faith, and what idea I have of religion, suspecting that I am inclined to heresy. This proceeds from the freedom I formerly took in discoursing against the pope's infallibility, the newly canonised saints, and the doctrine of No salvation out of the Roman church. I see thy zeal makes thee peevish and morose; indeed it is a grace that soon turns sour, if it be not kept in a clean heart, and a temperate air, free from the vapours of superstition; however, I am willing to satisfy thy demand as well as I can, and transmit my soul to thee in effigy.

Though we cannot pourtray negatives, yet every picture has its back side, whereon the cunning painter may draw the reverse of his first design, or at least the spectator's imagination may supply the painter's office, and form ideas quite contrary to the original piece. That thou mayest therefore the better comprehend what I am in point of religion and faith, I will first represent what I am not.

Conceive then, that I am no narrow-souled Jew, who confines salvation to the lineage of Jacob, and lays an hereditary claim to heaven, because for the wickedness of his execrable race, he is not allowed to possess a foot of land on earth; who to strengthen his title, produces the scheme of his genealogy, proving that he descended in a right line from one of those parricides who murdered the Messias, and for that reason avouches, that paradise is entailed to him, among the rest of his brethren, on the score of his forefathers merit.

Neither am I a Christian hypocrite, who mocks himself, and all that see him, with his empty formalities;

who conſtantly calls upon Jeſus every morning to ſanctify his reſolution of ſinning againſt God before night; who tires out the patience of the ſaints and angels with the crambo of his vain repetitions, his *Ave Maria*, *Ora pro nobis*, and the reſt of his religious jargon; who goes to church that he may get the whip-hand of the devil, and meeting him on holy ground, may whiſper treaſon againſt God Almighty over his beads, or his prayer-book, as the Germans do againſt the emperor over their bottle, *ſub roſa*, without any obſervators or tell-tales.

I am no worſhipper of images, pictures, old rotten worm-eaten bits of wood, or other pretended relics of Chriſt and his ſaints; I cannot be perſuaded that God is well pleaſed to ſee me make a fool of myſelf, and trot up and down in pilgrimage, to honour five or ſix ſham heads of St. John the Baptiſt, for in ſo many ſeveral places do they pretend to ſhow that one ſacred relic, which cannot be multiplied; neither can I believe the miraculous vegetation, and conſtant growth of the croſs, which they pretend to ſhow whole and entire at Ceſarea, whilſt it is exhibited alſo in millions of pieces throughout Chriſtendom, ſo that there is ſcarce a Chriſtian gentleman of any quality in Europe, Aſia, Africa, or America, who does not boaſt his ſhare of this wonderful relic; if all which pieces were put together, they would probably make a thouſand ſuch croſſes as that which is kept in Paleſtine for the ſuppoſed true croſs whereon Jeſus ſuffered death, and yet they are all ſaid to be cut off from that.

Indeed, Father William, I have no great ſtomach to ſwallow down theſe great wooden fables; the very chips are enough to choak me; but then comes the milk of the bleſſed virgin to my relief, with which I may rinſe my unbelieving throat, almoſt in every pariſh or monaſtic church I come at; for I dare ſay there is more of this to

be found in such places, than an Hungarian cow would give in seven years together; but it curdles in my stomach, and makes me sick: The very idea of these child-absurdities is as operative as the draught of an antimonial cup.

It would be too tedious to turn up all the negative side of my religion, and explain in an hundred more particulars what I am not; let us now therefore reverse the tablet, and see what I positively am.

And here I am at a loss for a compendious title or name to give myself, saving that of a Christian; for I know not to what more particular predicament I belong. As for the distinguishing characteristics of Papist, Protestant, Lutheran, Calvinist, Socinian, &c. I esteem them no otherwise than the brands of so many religious factions in the church; and the particular title of Roman Catholic looks like a solecism in common sense: I would therefore be taken for a Christian, who neither makes parties, nor sides with any; but, honouring Jesus as our common lord and master, I endeavour to obey his laws peaceably and like a loyal subject.

I lay for a foundation of all my practice toward men, this golden rule which he gave us: "Not to do that to another, which I would not have done to myself." Upon this basis is built the whole fabric of human justice. I endeavour to regulate my own passions, and to bear with those of others; to be angry with myself for the least peccadillo, but to frame excuses for the errors and offences which my neighbour commits. Here rises the superstructure of all virtue, supported by patience, hope, and faith, cemented by charity, meekness, and temperance, and adorned all over with good works.

In a word, Father William, the sum and substance of my religion consists in these few rules: To fear God,

ſerve my king, honour and obey my parents, love my friends, and to do juſtice to all men, without troubling myſelf about empty formalities, and needleſs ceremonies, or being concerned in what nation, climate, or ſociety of Chriſtians I live, ſince God regards not one man more than another for theſe exterior differences.

Reverend monk, adieu; and from what I have ſaid, conclude me a catholic in the propereſt ſenſe.

Paris, 26th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1680.

## XVI.—*To* Murat Basha.

They are extremely merry here in Paris; nothing but dancing, ſinging, roaring, drinking, ringing of bells, making of bonefires and other illuminations, ſhooting of guns, ſtirting about ſquibs, crackers, ſerpents, rockets, and all manner of gun-powder compoſitions. If it ſhould hold but two hours longer, I believe they would be in danger of running all mad. This is the hour of midnight, and yet they are in the height of their jollity, which is not cuſtomary in theſe weſtern parts, though no wonder in the Eaſt. I wiſh there were an Army of Ottomans near us; I would give them the ſignal, and ſhow them the way, when and how to enter the town, and take poſſeſſion of the richeſt city in France; for they ſuſpect nothing, and the very guards themſelves are all drunk; it were an eaſy thing to ſurpriſe them, and take them napping. But there is a time and a chance for all things under the moon, and this is their lucky ſeaſon.

Wouldſt thou know the occaſion of all this joy and ſecurity? It is double; of one ſide the news comes rolling from Spain of the new queen found there; and on the other hand they are tranſported with the marriage of

Monſeigneur the Dauphin of France with the Princeſs Anna Maria Victoire, ſiſter to the Duke of Bavaria.

I mentioned that advances were made in order to this match the latter end of the foregoing year; the ſame was completed in all its ceremonies on this very day.

The French king parted from Verſailles about the beginning of this moon, with the dauphin his ſon, to meet the princeſs: Their firſt interview was at a place called Vitry. As ſoon as the dauphineſs (for ſo we muſt call her now) ſaw the king alight from his horſe, ſhe leaped out of her coach, and threw herſelf upon her knees; but he ſoon raiſed and embraced her with royal careſſes, expreſſing the mighty joy he felt at this firſt ſight of her, on whom reſted the hopes of France for heirs to the crown. Then he preſented the dauphin to her, who alſo was not wanting on his part to diſcover the ſentiments he had for a princeſs of ſo great birth, merit, wit, and virtue.

The queen did not ſee her daughter-in-law till they came to Chalons, and there ſhe careſſed her with all tenderneſs imaginable in outward appearance; but God knows what is in the hearts of theſe royal ſouls, or how long their friendſhip may laſt.

The ceremony of the eſpouſals was performed at that town yeſterday by the Cardinal of Bouillon, grand almoner of France, in the chapel of the biſhop's palace; and to-day, as I have ſaid, he finiſhed the whole buſineſs in the temple of the Virgin Mary, the chief cathedral of this city, in the preſence of the king and queen, with divers lords and ladies of the court. There were other biſhops to aſſiſt him, whoſe titles I have forgot, but I think they were of Orleans and Condom: This laſt makes a conſiderable figure in the kingdom, and is created firſt almoner to Madam the Dauphineſs. He appears very zealous

in converting the huguenots; and I have a great deal more to say of him than I have time to write now.

Assure thyself that I cherish a profound respect for thee; and that as I never was, so I never will be defective or tardy in sending thee thy proportion of western intelligence; for I must divide it among the bassas and other ministers of the Porte.

Rest contented with thy share, and in the name of God farewel.

Paris, 8th of the 3d moon, of the year 1680.

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## BOOK IV.

### LETTER I.—*To* HAMET, *Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

By the mosque of Sultan Job, I swear these petty republics of the Franks are not worth a mussulman's thought; however, to satisfy thy curious and inquisitive genius, I will say something of each as briefly and compendiously as I can.

In my two last, I discoursed of the United Netherlands, and the Swiss Cantons; now I will ferry thee over the Leman Lake, and land thee in Geneva, the mother, nurse, and centre of the Calvinists. These are a sort of protestants, dissenting from the opinions of Luther and his associates, who was the first author of what they call the Reformation here in Europe.

The city of Geneva is very ancient, and was not young in the time of Julius Cæsar, as appears by his Commentaries, where he makes mention of its being seated on the river Rosne, just at the entrance of the Leman

Lake; it ſtands very pleaſantly, and has a fertile ſoil round about it, where Ceres ſtrives to outdo Bacchus in her liberalities; for though there be very good vineyards in theſe parts, yet not in ſo great plenty as to match the abundance of corn, pulſe, hay, oats, melons, and all manner of herbs and fruits that the climate uſually bears.

The air is pure and wholeſome; the winter is not ſo cold as in Germany, nor the ſummer ſo hot as in ſome parts of France.

The people are generally corpulent, moroſe, inhoſpitable to ſtrangers, eſpecially to thoſe of the Roman church, whom they always ſuſpect as ſpies; they are very frugal, continent, and ſober; and, above all things, they affect a ſingular gravity in their carriage and garb.

As for riches they can boaſt but little; and were it not for their art in making ſilks and printing books, of which infinite quantities and numbers are exported to other nations, this commonwealth could not ſupport its own charges.

Indeed their military ſtrength is conſiderable for the bigneſs of the place, the city being fenced by nature as well as art with impregnable fortifications. They keep an exquiſite watch on the walls, and at the gates; neither can any foreigner have entrance or lodging there without undergoing a ſevere ſcrutiny. They have a magazine in the city, furniſhed with all ſorts of arms, and with every thing that is neceſſary to ſuſtain a long ſiege: Add to this, the friendſhip and patronage of the French kings, who have for many years ſheltered this little republic from the invaſions and incroachments of the Dukes of Savoy, who claim a title to it.

There were formerly three forts near the town, in the poſſeſſion of the Savoyards, which much annoyed the

inhabitants, and threatened the ruin of the city itself, with the shot of great brass ordnance, which were placed there for that purpose; but Henry IV. of France took one from the Duke of Savoy, and demolished it in the year 1600; he also caused another to be pulled down, which equally endamaged the opposite side of the city; and a third the inhabitants themselves laid even with the ground, being aided by the French.

If thou wouldst know by what title the Dukes of Savoy pretend a right to Geneva, I will tell thee in a few words: In former times there was a feud between the Counts of Geneva and her Bishops about the government, each claiming it as his due: At length a certain bishop procured the principality of Geneva from Frederick I. Emperor of Germany. This occasioned a civil war between him and the Count of Geneva, which lasting many years, and consuming the money and forces of the town, the inhabitants, with the consent of the bishop, implored the protection of the Count of Savoy. He raised an army, and marched against the Count of Geneva, taking many towns and fortresses from him which belonged to the republic; then he advanced with the army near to the walls of Geneva, more like an enemy than a friend to the bishop and people; for not content with his new conquests, he demanded as much money as would quit the charges he had been at in this expedition. The bishop represented to him, "That he ought to be content with those places he had won, and that they should be acknowledged feudatories of Savoy;" but this did not satisfy the greedy count, who threatened the city if they would not reimburse him with money. The inhabitants being poor, and fearing worse consequences should they provoke this prince too far, at last agreed with him, "That he should possess as much right in the city as the

Counts of Geneva had done before this war began;" and this was done by way of pledge or mortgage. The Savoyard therefore entering the city with his forces, oppreſſed the inhabitants with cruel tyranny; ſo that being provoked to deſperate courſes, they conſpired together, and choſe rather to call back the Count of Geneva to his native poſſeſſion, from which he had been violently caſt out by the uſurping biſhop, than to ſubmit to a foreign juriſdiction, which began ſo early to afflict them with inſupportable calamities.

But this, inſtead of a remedy, proved an aggravation of their misfortunes; for the Count of Geneva coming againſt him of Savoy with ſome forces, was overcome in battle, and ſo Geneva was reduced to greater ſtraits than before; for the Savoyards entering the houſes of the citizens, drew the conſpirators from their lurking holes, and killed them, committing a thouſand other inſolencies againſt the inhabitants; nor did this ceaſe till the whole race of the Counts of Geneva was quite extinct. Then Amadeus, the Count of Savoy, finding that ſtill the Biſhop of Geneva gave him as much trouble as the counts had done before, obtained of the Emperor Charles IV. to be made vicar of the empire in his provinces, thinking by the greatneſs of this title and authority to ſuppreſs the power of the biſhop; but the eccleſiaſtic prince ſo ſtrongly oppoſed the ſecular, that he maintained his own juriſdiction, and the liberty of the people, till the time of Amadeus VIII. who was his ſucceſſor, and the firſt who was created Duke of Savoy, being afterwards elected to the papacy, which he enjoyed by the name of Felix. Before his aſſumption to this height of eccleſiaſtic dignity, he had obtained of Pope Martin the juriſdiction of Geneva in temporal matters; but he found as much trouble in it as his predeceſſors had

done before; and ſo have all his ſucceſſors to this very day; for, though they boaſt of the title, yet they have no more authority in the town than the King of Bantam.

This city is governed by a ſyndic, and twenty-five ſenators, who meet every day to conſult about the affairs of the commonwealth, and to decide all cauſes, whether criminal or civil.

It is their chief intereſt to hold a good correſpondence with France, without whoſe protection they would ſuffer many injuries; therefore the better ſort, as it were by way of flattery and complaiſance, dreſs themſelves after the French faſhions, and make uſe of that language, though imperfectly, in all their letters and converſation, but the vernacular is the ſame with that of Savoy.

Accompliſhed miniſter, in regard thou complaineſt of the length of my letters, I will hereafter be more conciſe, and refreſh thee often with brief accounts of the ſtates in Europe yet remaining to be ſpoke of.

In the mean time, think of doing poor Mahmut ſome kind offices in the divan, for I am macerated with zeal, care, ſickneſs, and old age. Surely I cannot live much longer, or rather I ſhall not be much longer a-dying; for this mortal life is but death in maſquerade.

Paris, 4th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1660.

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## II.—*To* Achmet Bassa.

Some maxims of ſtate or religion, which you pleaſe, (for they are much one) have moved the King of France to publiſh a decree, which they call a regulation, whereby he reſtrains the huguenots from certain liberties and privileges which they enjoyed before.

If thou wouldſt know the character of theſe huguenots, I will give it thee as well as I can, not perfect and full thou mayeſt ſwear, but true, as far as it goes.

In the firſt place, therefore, it is neceſſary for thee to know, that about two hundred years paſt, a certain friar, or derviſe in our ſtyle, named Martin Luther, being offended at his lord and maſter the Pope or Biſhop of Rome, ſet up for himſelf, as the only preacher, doctor, reformer, and apoſtle of that age; he drew abundance of people after him, and not a few princes and nobles; the known ſcandalous vices of the Roman clergy on one ſide, and the epidemical inclination which mortals have for novelty on the other, facilitated his innovation. He grew famous in Wirtemberg, Augſburgh, and other parts of Germany where he lived; in a word, his new doctrines were like an earthquake to the whole empire; he ſtaggered many wiſe and honeſt men, and overthrew whole thouſands of fools and knaves.

Among the reſt of the laſt gang, one Calvin embraced Luther's tenets, a very learned man, and of great abilities, but very partial, revengeful, and auſtere in his humour: At firſt he was very zealous and uniform in all things, according to the model of his upſtart maſter, but upon ſome diſpute between them, he takes ſnuff, flings off the yoke, and revolts from his new director. There have been ſeveral ſuch hot-headed ſparks ſince that time, every one aſpiring at the character of an apoſtle or prophet; Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, Bucer, Beza, and a rabble of other new lights and ſaviours of the world.

Now the huguenots, as I am informed, are the diſciples of Calvin; ſo is the commonwealth of Geneva, with ſome parts of Switzerland, Holland, and the country of the Griſons: As for England, Swedeland, Den-

mark, Norway, Saxony, Brandenburgh, and Heſſe-Caſſel, they are all Lutherans, ſaving that the Engliſh, whom I firſt mentioned, have made twelve ſeveral alterations in their religion ſince the days of Luther.

It is obſervable of that nation, that they are flexible, and receptive of any foreign impreſſion. The French ſay, "The Engliſh would as ſoon embrace Mahometaniſm as any other religion, could ye but once get the length of their foot." This is an Engliſh adage. It is certain they are a very mutable, inconſtant, reſtleſs people; they ſurfeit on the plenty which nature hath given them, which makes them ſtill uneaſy, diſcontented, and delicate; they ſpew out their own happineſs to caſe the ſtomach of that intemperate nation, and prepare it for foreign ſham-banquets of magicians: Of old they were brave, and ſtedfaſt to their principles; then their renown was ſpread far and wide; "when a baronet of England (as it is recorded in the hiſtories of France, which muſt be impartial in this point) killed five-and-twenty Frenchmen, among whom were two marquiſes, four knights, and nine nobles of the leſſer order."

But now they have quite loſt their ancient fame and valour; they are corrupted with a thouſand debaucheries; they are as fickle as the wind, and as moveable as the duſt it raiſes in the ſtreets; in fine, they are nothing at all but the obloquy and ſcorn of other nations.

But to return to the French huguenots, and Calvin their maſter: I was once acquainted with a very ancient derviſh, or friar, when I firſt came to Paris, who confidently affirmed, that he had often heard his own father ſay, "That Calvin, in his preſence, once thruſt his right hand into the fire, wiſhing it had been burnt to aſhes, when it directed his pen in writing againſt the real preſence of the body of Jeſus the Meſſias, in the ſacrament

of the altar; but ſince he had written that fatal treatiſe, he could do no leſs in honour than defend it to the laſt." And yet this is one of the cardinal and moſt important points in controverſy between the catholics and the huguenots, whereon the whole body of religion depends, and turns to the right hand or to the left; ſo that in the main, the huguenots have no other ground for their ſeparation from the Roman church, than the confeſſed obſtinacy of their ringleader: And I tell thee plainly, they are the diſciples of his humour, as well as of his doctrines: There is not ſuch a pertinacious ſort of people living, ſo ſingular, partial, ſelf-conceited, wilful, and incorrigible. We muſt always except out of this character ſome of the gentry, moſt of the nobles, and all the beaux eſprits of that profeſſion, as they call them, that is, the men of ſenſe; for they deſpiſe the bigotry of their brethren, and go to their public aſſemblies, rather in complaiſance to their parents, friends, and kindred, or for the ſake of intereſt, than out of any real regard for a religion of ſo young a date, ſo mean and contemptible a figure, and which is ſhut up within ſuch narrow limits.

They are, in ſhort, ſo bad, or at leaſt grown ſo odious at the court, that the king is quite angry with them, and reſolved to extirpate them and their new-fangled hereſy out of the nation. In order to this, he proceeds gradually, like a politician, being not willing to tempt them to a general revolt, by provoking the whole party at once, and rendering them deſperate. No, no; he is cunninger than to draw a civil war upon himſelf and his kingdom, by giving ſo loud an alarm to a people who are very rich, potent, and whoſe intereſt is much interwoven with that of the catholics. I believe, to ſpeak modeſtly, they are able to keep fifty thouſand men of arms in pay, as they can contrive the buſineſs among them-

ſelves. Therefore, knowing that though the preachers all profeſs the ſame religion, yet every one is not ſo zealous as another in defending and propagating it, he has made ſuch a politic decree, as only touches thoſe particular mollas, (or miniſters, as they call them here) who are convicted of proſelyting any catholics to their hereſy; whereby alſo is threatened to the catholics themſelves, who ſhall forſake the religion of their fathers, perpetual baniſhment, the loſs of their right hand, which was lifted up in their abjuration, and other grievous penalties.

In the mean time, the biſhops and inferior prieſts are very induſtrious to confirm the catholics in their native faith and obedience, and to convert the huguenots from their ſuppoſed errors: I call them ſuppoſed errors, becauſe it is much one to us that are muſſulmans and followers of Mahomet, whether one party of the Nazarenes be in the right of it or the other, only we muſt regard the intereſt of the Ottoman empire. They are all equally heretics and infidels, ſo long as they are enemies to the meſſenger of God, the ſeal of the prophets.

He that is the moſt vigorous, and takes the greateſt pains in converting the huguenots, is the Biſhop of Meaux, a man of prodigious eloquence, ſenſe, and wit. This age does not afford his equal, in the perfections of the mind and intellect; he is profoundly learned, a man of univerſal reading, ſkilful in moſt languages, an oracle in philoſophy, aſtronomy, and the other ſciences of nature; he is the laureat among the poets, the crown of orators, the very encyclopædia of human knowledge.

It is true he is very zealous for the authority and infallible veracity of the Roman church; but he aſſerts theſe things with ſo much grace and moderation, with ſuch a maſculine reaſon, and with all the ſymptoms of a

ſincere piety, that I, who regard no one ſect of the Franks more than another, cannot but admire the natural abilities and perfections of his ſoul. He is learned as Abdel Melec Muli Omar at Fez; pious as Hebatolla Mir Argun at Cogni in Natolia; abſtinent as Mohammed in Arabia; holy as the abſtracted Mirmadolin, ſantone of the Vale of Sidon; a man every way accompliſhed, and inſpired with divine munificence.

O great baſſa, accuſe me not for this eulogy of a Chriſtian; but let thou and I, and all true believers, profit by the beſt examples, wherever or in whatſoever religion we find them, whether they be giaſres or muſſulmans.

Paris, 13th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1680.

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## III.—*To the Venerable* Mufti.

So long as thou doſt not complain of my too frequent letters, I ſhall not murmur at the pains of writing them. It is a pleaſure thus to revolve the hiſtories of paſt ages; and whilſt I with my own hand conſign them to paper, they adhere the faſter to my memory. I ſhould not be ſorry if I were to ſpend the remainder of my days in epitomiſing all the authentic records and memoirs that are extant in the world; ſuch an exerciſe would be a conſtant relief of melancholy, by lighting abundance of flambeaux and lamps in the ſoul to diſperſe the miſts and darkneſs which naturally make it ſad. I ended my laſt letter with the reign of Numa Pompilius over the Romans, who, as if he had made the kingdom hereditary only to men of virtue, was no ſooner dead, but the people elected Tullus Hoſtilius for their king, in conſideration of his excellent endowments and merits.

He inſtructed the Romans in a more perfect military diſcipline, and improved the art of war; ſo that having trained up the youth to a wonderful promptneſs and ſkill in arms, he ventured to ſend a defiance to the Albans, and invade their territories, though they were a ſtout people, and had lorded it a long time in Italy; but when many battles had been fought between them, with equal damage to both ſides, at length, to put an end to the war, and make the loſſes of the vanquiſhed more compendious, they mutually agreed to decide the victory, by a combat of three brothers on one ſide, againſt as many on the other. Thoſe on the Roman part were called Horatii, the Alban brothers Curiatii.

The fight was fair and dubious, and had an admirable event; for all the three Curiatii were wounded, and two of the Horatii killed, ſo that it ſeemed difficult to determine which had the advantage, one ſound and untouched Roman, or three faint and weakened Albans. However, the ſurviving Horatius, not preſuming too much on his own ſtrength againſt ſuch an unequal number of enemies, added policy to his courage, and made uſe of this ſtratagem:

He counterfeited a flight, that ſo he might ſeparate his adverſaries, and engage with them ſingly, one after another, according as they overtook him. His plot took, and he vanquiſhed all three: But he ſullied his victory with the blood of his ſiſter, whom at his return he killed, becauſe ſhe met him not with joy and triumph, but with grief and tears for the loſs of her ſpouſe, who was one of the three Alban brethren. He was called in queſtion for the bloody fact, but his merit ſuperſeded his crime; and the fact, which at another time would have coſt him his head, now ſerved but to augment his glory.

Not long after this, there broke out a war between the Romans and the Fidenates, a people of Latium or Tuſcany. The Albans, according to their late league, were obliged to aid the Romans in their wars, wherefore they ſent auxiliary forces, under the command of Metius Suffetius: But this captain proved treacherous; for juſt as the two armies were going to enter into battle, he withdrew his Albans to the top of a hill, where they ſtood neuters, to behold the fortune of the fight, that ſo they might join the ſtrongeſt party, which when Tullus perceived, he politicly cried out with a loud voice, in the hearing of both armies, "That Metius had done this by his command." Then the Romans took courage, and their enemies being ſtruck with terror, were ſoon routed and overcome; after which, the Roman king cauſed the traitor Metius Suffetius to be tied with cords to two chariots, and torn in pieces by wild horſes. He alſo ruined and quite demoliſhed Alba, not looking on that city now as the parent, but the rival of Rome; however, he firſt tranſported to Rome all the riches of Alba, with the inhabitants, that ſo that city might not ſeem to periſh, but only to remove its ſituation, and be incorporated with Rome.

Ancus Martius ſucceeded Tullus Hoſtilius, being the grandchild of Numa by his daughter: He inherited his qualities alſo, as well as his blood; he encompaſſed the city with walls, and joined the banks of Tiber, which ran through the middle of it, with a bridge; he likewiſe built the port Oſtia, juſt by the mouth of the river, where it flows into the ſea, planting there a colony of Romans, as if he had then preſaged what afterwards came to paſs, that the merchandiſes of the world ſhould be brought in thither, as into the maritime ſtorehouſe of the city deſtined to conquer all things.

To him ſucceeded Tarquinius, afterwards ſurnamed Priſcus: He was of foreign extraction, yet obtained the ſovereignty by his eloquence and wit; for, being the ſon of Lucumo, a Corinthian, who abandoned his country, and fled into Tuſcany, where he was made king, this Tarquinius, poliſhing his Greek nature with Italian arts, inſinuated ſo far with the Romans, that they choſe him for their king: He augmented the number of ſenators, and added three hundred ſoldiers to the troops that were already eſtabliſhed, which was all he durſt do, in regard Attius Nævius, an augur in high requeſt among the Romans, had forbid any greater number to be added. Theſe augurs were a ſort of diviners, who foretold things to come, from the chirping, flying, feeding, and other actions of birds. Tarquinius one day aſked this Attius Nævius, "Whether the thing could poſſibly be done, which he had then thought upon?" The augur, conſulting his art, anſwered, "It might be done." Then ſaid the king, "I was conſidering whether I could cut this whetſtone with a razor." "Yes, you may," replied Attius. And the king did it. From that time, the college of augurs, firſt founded by Romulus, was held in ſacred eſteem by the Romans. I ſhould have called them the Triumvirate of Augurs, for there were but three at firſt, one out of every tribe; but Servius Tullius, the next king, added a fourth. Theſe were all nobles. But afterwards they were increaſed to nine, and laſt of all to fifteen, in the dictatorſhip of Sylla.

To return to Tarquinius: He was no leſs proſperous in war than in peace; for he ſubdued twelve cities of the Tuſcans, with the territories belonging to them; he invented robes, and enſigns of ſtate; the ivory ſeats of chariots, wherein the ſenators were carried to the council; the gold rings, and magnificent horſe-trappings, which

were given to the Roman knights, as badges of honour; alſo the purple and ſcarlet robes; the triumphal chariot of gold; the painted Phrygian robe, worn by a victorious general, when he celebrated a triumph; with many other ornaments and public decorations, to ſet forth the majeſty and grandeur of the Roman ſtate.

Tarquinius being mortally wounded, his wife Tanaquil perſuaded the people, that all was well with him; that his wounds were not dangerous; that he was only laid in a ſlumber; and that in a little time they ſhould ſee him well again; in the mean while, ſhe ſaid, it was his will and pleaſure that they ſhould obey Servius Tullius, a favourite of her's, who would adminiſter juſtice, and govern the people wiſely during the king's illneſs.

This Servius Tullius was the ſon of a Prince of Latium, who being killed in a battle with the Romans, his wife was carried captive to Rome, and being preſented to Queen Tanaquil, lived free from ſervitude under her protection; and being with child, was delivered of Servius Tullius in Tanaquil's palace. The queen took a ſingular fancy to the noble infant, and gave him royal education, preſaging from a flame which ſhe ſaw environing his head, that he would be a famous man in time. It was for this reaſon ſhe perſuaded the people to receive him as the king's ſubſtitute or deputy, for a while, not doubting but that after they had taſted the ſweetneſs of his government, and the death of Tarquin ſhould be known, they would eaſily ſubmit to him as Tarquin's ſucceſſor. Her ſtratagem had its deſired effect; for Servius Tullius improved his time ſo well in pleaſing the people, that the kingdom, which he obtained by craft, was acknowledged by all as due to his merit and virtues. He firſt brought the people of Rome under an aſſeſſment, whereby every man's eſtate was valued; he divided them

into claſſes, wards, and colleges; and the commonwealth was brought into ſuch order, by the exquiſite policy of this wiſe king, that the difference of every man's patrimony, dignity, age, trade, and office, was regiſtered in public tables, which rendered the economy of this great ſtate as regular and eaſy as that of a private family or houſe.

The laſt of all the kings was Tarquinius, ſurnamed the Proud, for the moroſe and diſdainful haughtineſs of his temper: He married the daughter of Servius Tullius, in hopes of ſucceeding in the kingdom; but he not having patience to wait for the natural death of his father-in-law, hired ruffians to murder him, and then ſeized upon the kingdom by violence; neither did he govern the ſtate with leſs wickedneſs and cruelty, than that by which he obtained it; for he denied burial to his murdered father-in-law, ſaying, "That he deſerved not better uſage than Romulus, who periſhed without a ſepulchre." He alſo ſlew the chiefs of the nobles whom he ſuſpected to be in Servius's intereſt. And his wife Tullia was as bad as he; for as ſoon as ſhe had ſaluted her huſband by the title of king, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be driven in a chariot over the dead carcaſe of her father. Both of them exerciſed great cruelty, and maſſacred many of the ſenators: But the pride of Tarquin was intolerable to all, till, at length, when he had ſpent enough of his rage at home, he turned it againſt his foreign enemies abroad, and took many ſtrong towns in Latium. However, notwithſtanding all his vices, he gave the world this proof of his piety, that out of the ſpoils which he took from his enemies, he raiſed money, and finiſhed therewith the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, which his father Tarquinius Priſcus had begun. The ſtory ſays, that as they were laying the foundations of this temple, they found the

head of a man, which they interpreted as a good omen, that Rome ſhould be the ſeat of a vaſt empire, and miſtreſs of the whole earth, as it afterwards came to paſs.

The people of Rome bore with the pride of Tarquin, but would not bear with the luſt and tyranny of his ſons; one of which raviſhed Lucretia, a woman of admirable beauty and virtue: The chaſte matron expiated the diſgrace by ſtabbing herſelf; and as ſhe breathed her laſt, ſhe charged Brutus and Collatinus, two princes, to revenge her cauſe; wherefore they ſtirred up the people to aſſert their liberty, and abrogate the kingly government, which was as readily done as mentioned; and here was an end put to the tyranny of kings.

In my next I will relate the increaſe and progreſs of the Roman ſtate, under the government of conſuls and emperors, which will comprehend the moſt memorable events of peace and war, even to the cataſtrophe of the empire.

Paris, 22d of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1680.

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IV.—*To* Orchan Cabet, *Student of the Sciences, and Penſioner to the Sultan.*

About the ſoul; that is the thought I am upon, that is the word I am going to write; whether it ſhall, after the grand divorce from the body, go to heaven or hell, (as they are commonly repreſented) or whether it ſhall not rather be more happily or miſerably diſpoſed of, or if leſs, yet at leaſt in a more proportionate order of eternal juſtice. Methinks I taſte and feel the original meaning of the word *Nemeſis*, which though it paſs for primitive Greek among the moſt learned of the weſtern ſcholars, yet I can prove it to be a Phœnician derivative from

the Chineſe, and I can demonſtrate likewiſe that it is full of myſteries.

Every ſyllable of it is ſacred and myſterious as the MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN, of *Belſhazzar*; *Numeravit*, *Numeravit*, *Appendit*, *Diviſit*; that is the ſenſe of it; ſo are words become the Eternal Mind.

The very letters which compoſe words (I ſhould have ſaid the ſyllables firſt, in good manners) are all the products of the mathematics; I mean, of the original ſcience, not of thoſe paltry fragments, ſcraps, and offals, that are taught in ſchools and academies; ſuch as the Elements of Euclid, the Rudiments of Algebra, Benazer, Kiſlud, or any other learned pen. There is ſomething more within the verge of human ſcience than what has been divulged hitherto in the world, or at leaſt more than what is now extant, and has eſcaped the ruin of fires, floods, earthquakes, and the jaws of all devouring time.

Learned Orchan, I will not be prolix; but anſwer me one queſtion about the ſoul: Canſt thou believe the ſtories of the prieſts concerning purgatory, hell, and the two other limbos? haſt thou faith enough to ſwallow the ridiculous figments of the book intitled, Speculum Exemplorum, a tract ſo highly celebrated and magnified among the ſuperſtitious Nazarenes of the Roman church? Believe me, theſe doctrines are the pure effects of anthropomorphiſm, or the religion of thoſe who repreſent God under the form of a mortal man; for they, poor ſouls, are ſo incapable of riſing above this groſs and earthly thought, that they even preſume to draw and paint the effigies of the Eternal Divinity, which has no figure or reſemblance; they pourtray him like a very old man, with grey hairs on his head and beard, and then they ſet the idol up in temples to be adored: The rude and ignorant vulgar dare not contradict their guides, whom they revere as o-

racles; they bow before the ſacred vanity, paying divine honours to the work of human art. Thus ſuperſtition and error ſpread abroad and take firm root in the world; from hence the duller part of men derive their notions of man's ſoul.

They cannot conceive how it ſhould ſubſiſt after death, without juſt ſuch a body of fleſh and blood as it has in this life; and yet they contradict that very opinion, by aſſerting that it cannot have ſuch a body till the general reſurrection, whilſt at the ſame time they aſſert, that it ſhall enjoy all the pleaſures, or ſuffer all the pains, which none but corporeal beings are capable of. Doubtleſs the infidels are involved in a labyrinth of hereſies.

We mortals know not the ſtate of departed ſouls, whether they go upwards or downwards, to the eaſt or weſt, north or ſouth; we are wholly ignorant of the climates wherein the bleſſed and the damned are ſeparately diſpoſed of. Perhaps the doctrine of tranſmigration taught by Pythagoras, Empedocles, and all the eaſtern Indians, may be true, from which belief few muſſulmans do diſſent; or it may be we ſhall, as the gentile poets wrote myſteriouſly, fall into Lethe's lake, into the region of forgetfulneſs, where we ſhall be as though we had never been. This is the ſoul's inactive ſtate, if any ſuch there be in nature for an incorporeal ſpirit; and then the Millenaries or Chiliaſts among the Chriſtians, may be much in the right of it, who taught the ſleep of the ſoul until the reſurrection. Indeed, in my opinion, this life itſelf, wherein we think ourſelves ſo much awake, to hear, ſee, taſte, ſmell, feel, and revel in the pleaſures of the univerſe, is but a dream or trance, a grand deliquium of the ſoul, the univerſal apoplexy of human nature; for the true genuine life is only to be found above, in the pure regions of the air, or more refined ſkies; or if not there, at leaſt and

loweſt rate, in the ſuperlative heights beyond the ſtars, remote from narrow and polluted matter, where perfect eſſences do baſk eternally in the grand halo of the Godhead, or ſhroud and cool themſelves under the ſhady trees of paradiſe, whoſe roots ſpring from the deep abyſſes of eternity, and are waſhed by ſprings and ſtreams warbling along the verdant banks of ſweet chioſes, and elegant borders of the groves in Eden.

Such are the pleaſures which God, the fountain of munificence, is pleaſed to treat his creatures with; he ſtudies to regale his favourites with infinite beatitudes.

There are in paradiſe rivers broad and long as the Danube, Volga, Niger, Nilus, or any other noted current upon earth; their ſtreams run all with honey, wine, and milk, or more delicious liquors, if any ſuch there be.

They are not deep, that timorous men need fear to drown themſelves, yet deep enough for foreign earthly ſouls to ſwim in everlaſting pleaſures. Moreover, thou knoweſt the ſaying of the prophet, "That we ſhall have women there, whoſe beauty no painter's art can ever expreſs, who ſhall not glance a look upon another man beſide their own;" women whoſe beauty ſhall exceed the luſtre of diamonds, rubies, hyacinths, and whatſoever is precious in the Eaſt.

He promiſes likewiſe, "That we ſhall be ſtretched out at perfect eaſe on ſtately beds, under pavilions of magnific ſtructure;" where pages fair and beautiful as pearls ſhall wait upon us, whilſt gentle zephyrs fan the ambient air with their immortal breezes, making a ſoft and grateful ſound among the leaves and boughs of thoſe tall verdant copſes, woods, and thickets, which are planted here and there throughout the fields of paradiſe.

O Orchan! by all theſe allegories we are to underſtand the ſupreme felicity of virtuous ſouls, who die in faith

and love. This is a certain rule, that "whatſoever is pleaſant and agreeable to any good man upon earth, ſhall be either ſuperlatively augmented in ſpecie, or improved by an infinitely more pleaſant change in heaven." So that no man that dies well can poſſibly be baulked of his full of happineſs.

Shall I diſcourſe frankly and after the manner of friends? I think, when Atropos has done her buſineſs and ours, when ſhe has cut the thread of earthly life, our ſouls will then awake as from a tedious ſlumber mixed of joys and griefs, of fears and hopes, pleaſures, and pains; and we ſhall ſoon experience the truth of all our anxious forecaſts; every man ſhall be diſpoſed of, according to his rank in the heraldry of fate; I will not preſume to calculate particularly, where or how; only, in general, this is my faith, that there are paradiſes of all ſorts and degrees prepared with exquiſite proportion for the various kinds of good men, and hells as accurately fitted and equally adjuſted for the puniſhment of the wicked, to whatſoever claſs or order; for it appears to me a grand ſolecifm, a perfect blunder in divinity and reaſon, to aſſert or imagine, that as ſoon as the breath is out of the body, our ſouls muſt either ſwiftly poſt through all the elements and orbs above, and in a moment's time be ſeated in the cœlum empyræum, or elſe muſt tumble headlong in an inſtant to the loweſt hell. Methinks, if I were to go upwards, I would tarry by the way, and divert myſelf a while in the upper region of ſerene and balmy air, there to converſe with courteous demons, and perhaps with ſouls of gentile old philoſophers and poets: I would inquire at leaſt for Orpheus, Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Lucretius; for Pindar, Epictetus, and, by the by, for Sappho: I ſhould be ambitious alſo to ſee or hear of Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry, and ſome

other of the Grecian ſages; neither would I forget the name of any renowned wiſe man of paſt ages; for I think the earth has born but few of late that deſerve to be mentioned. But above all, I ſhould be diligent and curious to find out the thrice great Hermes, father of wiſdom and ſcience. It is ten to one but I ſhould viſit Horace, and aſk for a bottle of his beloved Champaign Muſcadine, if he has any there.

When I had thus refreſhed myſelf in the paradiſes of this ſublunary world, I would take my conge, and travel to the orb of the moon; I would kiſs the hand of Menarchus who rules all the inhabitants of that planet; if I found him in a good humour, I would humbly beg his pardon, and intercede for the ſilly Arcadians, who boaſted that their country was older than the moon; I would repreſent their caſe as favourably as I could, putting him in mind that they were only a company of poor ignorant ſhepherds, who firſt broached that blaſphemous libel, and that their nation is quite extinct on earth; therefore they are not worthy of his farther revenge or anger, ſince every Arcadian who had aſſerted this in his lifetime, has, for his penance, been forced to dig in the mines of the moon from the hour of his death. Perhaps theſe poor fellows might fare the better for my apology, who knows: But, if I found that my requeſt was granted, and theſe unfortunate Arcadians, being releaſed from the Sub-Cynthian dungeons, were permitted to return to earth again, I would charge them to have a care how they affronted ſuch a potent neighbour next time.

Having done ſo good a work, I would ſlip through the orb of Mercury as nimbly as I could, leſt that cunning thief ſhould ſteal the teeth out of my head; and juſt paying my reſpects to Lady Venus *en paſſant*, I would ſhut my eyes, and glide in a trice through the ſcorching

ſphere of the ſun. As for Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, I have nothing to do with them. But what work would I make with the beaſts and monſters of the eighth ſphere? I would certainly fleece the Ram *, and make the Bull † run mad. If I paſſed by the Twins ‡ in pity, I would eat the Crab § for a Viaticum; the ſhell I would throw to the Lion ‖ to ſtop his mouth, leſt he ſhould ſerve me in the ſame manner. But what a confounded ſtop and pauſe ſhould I make when I came to the Virgin ¶? What qualms of love ſhould I have? till, weighing her in the Balance ** of reaſon, I ſhould find her too light, and ſhould rather venture on the Scorpion ††: But I would firſt charm him with the myſterious verſicle of the alcoran; and to make ſure of him, I would pray for Noah and all his poſterity, according to the old rule of the Arabians; and then I might ſafely paſs by, without being ſtung. Had raſh Phaeton been acquainted with theſe ſecrets, when he drove the chariot of the ſun ſo madly, he might have rid over the Scorpion, without danger of burning the world; neither had he been thunder-ſtruck by Jupiter, and drowned in the river Po, nor his poor ſiſters been turned into poplars; however, as he fell out of the coach-box, he dropped his turban on the frontiers of Sagittary ‡‡, which I would take up to ſhield from the ſhafts of that ſprightful archer. As for Capricorn §§, he is a good harmleſs monſter, and any body may paſs by him without danger. Then I would quench my thirſt with Aquarius ‖‖, after eating the Crab, and ſo prepare for another banquet on Piſces ¶¶.

If thou thinkeſt I am too much in jeſt with the heavenly ſigns, I tell thee there is nothing in nature more ri-

* Aries. † Taurus. ‡ Gemini. § Cancer. ‖ Leo. ¶ Virgo. ** Libra. †† Scorpio. ‡‡ Sagittarius. §§ Capricornus. ‖‖ Aquarius. ¶¶ Piſces.

diculous than theſe fictitious forms and names aſſigned them by the ancient poets.

However, my ſoul begins to be tired with thus purſuing thoſe beaſts of the ſky; ſo I will put an end to the chaſe, wiſhing thee and myſelf a good repoſe, for it is above an hour paſt midnight. Adieu.

Paris, 17th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1680.

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## V.—*To* HAMET, *Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

IF thou wilt turn over the regiſter of the empire, thou wilt find ſome of my letters wherein I have deſcribed the city of Venice, according to the beſt information I had from Adonai, a Jew reſiding there as a private agent for the Grand Signior; therefore, avoiding all particularities concerning the incredible magnificence of the palaces, temples, bridges, colleges, and other public buildings, where nothing is to be ſeen but marble, jaſper, porphyry, ſilver, gold, and other precious ornaments, which every where dazzle the eyes of ſtrangers, I will only take notice of ſuch things relating to this city and republic as I formerly omitted.

The Venetians poſſeſs ſeveral moſt ample, rich, and flouriſhing cities in Italy, beſides abundance of ſmaller towns, caſtles, and fortreſſes. The names of thoſe cities which are of chiefeſt note, are Bergamo, Crema, Brixia, Verona, Trent, Aquileia, Vicenza, Padua, and Terviſo. As for the towns, they are too many to inſert in a letter.

Towards the north of their city, they are maſters of almoſt all Friuli, with Iſtria, which is the utmoſt province of Italy, on that ſide; they are alſo lords of the greateſt part of Dalmatia, with the iſles belonging to it. In the mouth of the Adriatic Sea, they poſſeſs Corfu, Cepha-

lonia, Zante, Cerigo, with many more of leſs note; not to ſpeak of Candia, ſo well known to the muſſulmans.

From all theſe territories the republic has an yearly income of two millions in gold, which is not treaſured up for any long time, but is employed in the public expences, as in maintaining military forces by ſea and land, in building and rigging up their fleets, in raiſing and repairing forts and caſtles, in paying the ſtipends of magiſtrates and public miniſters, with other expences too tedious to be named.

They have other ways to raiſe money in extraordinary caſes, as in time of war, or the like; for then they double or treble the taxes, and tythes, and impoſts; and all are liable to anſwer the demands of the republic, the noble as well as the vulgar. Neither do they ſeem unwilling, when the extreme neceſſities of the ſtate require it; but, if this be not ſufficient to defray the public charges, then the magiſtrates and public miniſters are obliged to wait for their ſalaries and ſtipends till the commonwealth is in a condition to pay them. They alſo at ſuch a time are uſed to ſell the places of great truſt and honour to the nobles, who at other times enjoy them gratis, as a reward of their merits.

If all this will not do the buſineſs, and they find themſelves reduced to great extremities, then they borrow of private perſons ſuch ſums as they want, on the public faith; and if any wealthy citizen refuſe, or appear unwilling to lend his money, they uſe force and violence, ſeizing his goods, whether moveable or immoveable, and ſell them for ready money. At the ſame time, the republic declares herſelf debtor to thoſe men, and pawns her faith to pay them, with intereſt, after a certain number of years, or when the war is finiſhed, according as ſhe is able; and that which is moſt admirable is, that all

this is done without the leaſt tumult or ſedition, or any exterior ſymptoms of diſcontent; nay, this people are ſo prompt and ready to aſſiſt the ſtate in ſuch exigencies, that it is common for many of the nobles and wealthy citizens, to make a voluntary tender of their money to the ſenate; and ſome will ſell their plate, of their own accord, with all their wives jewels and other ornaments, turning them into money, for the ſervice of the commonwealth.

Beſides, not only the inhabitants of Venice contribute thus to the public treaſury, but alſo the other cities and towns under their juriſdiction, each according to their ability; therefore it matters not much whether the republic have any bank of money by her or no, ſince her private ſubjects are rich enough, and ſhe can make uſe of their wealth without any difficulty, or ill conſequence, whenever ſhe has occaſion.

As for the ſtrength and military forces of the Venetians, it may be ſaid that there is ſcarce a prince in Europe who has better and larger fortifications than this republic; to defend which, and all her other poſſeſſions, ſhe makes uſe of the inhabitants, every province being obliged to furniſh ſo many thouſand ſoldiers as are ſufficient to fill the garriſons, and guard the country from foreign invaſion. Thus, in the province of Lombardy alone, there are twenty-five thouſand foot kept conſtantly in arms; beſides theſe, in time of war they raiſe extraordinary armies, both in their own territories, and in Germany, or among the Swiſs Cantons; from which laſt, they generally have an aid of thirty or five-and-thirty thouſand mercenaries, who are partly beſtowed on board their fleet, and partly in their forts and caſtles, whilſt ſome of them guard the bridges, and other paſſes of the country. As for the cavalry of this commonwealth, it

is very ſmall and inconſiderable for their number; but being moſt of them the ſons of nobles, they are valued for their blood, which inſpires them with heroic reſolution and bravery.

When they are to wage war by land, they uſually invite ſome foreign petty prince to be generaliſſimo of their armies: him they endear with moſt ample gifts and honours, giving him two ſenators for his colleagues, men who have been ſignally faithful and ſerviceable to the commonwealth; theſe are called proveditors, or ſupervifors-general, without whoſe conſent and approbation this generaliſſimo cannot give battle, or do any thing elſe of moment, from which the commonwealth may receive profit or damage.

I forbear to ſpeak of the arſenal of Venice, which is one of the wonders of the world, in regard I have already given a deſcription of it to the miniſters of the Porte in one of my former letters, which thou wilt find regiſtered.

Illuſtrious ſcribe, I aim at brevity in all my diſpatches, that I may not weary out thy patience; but ſometimes my ſubject carries me beyond my limits, otherwiſe I ſhould be forced to conclude ſome of my letters in the midſt of a relation, which in my opinion looks like a botch.

Therefore to avoid this ſolecifm, I muſt not cloſe up my diſpatch till I have given thee an account what rites and ceremonies are uſed in electing the Dukes of Venice; which take as follow:

The day of election being appointed, all the Venetian ſenators that are thirty years of age, meet together in the palace, where the gates being ſhut, an urn or cheſt is placed in the middle of the aſſembly, into which are thrown as many little balls as there be ſenators preſent;

theſe balls are of two colours, for thirty of them are gilt, the reſt are white: Every one of the ſenators takes a ball out of the urn; thoſe who get the thirty gilt ones are carried into another conclave, whilſt thoſe who have the white ones remain in the ſame place. In the ſecond conclave is alſo placed an urn, into which thirty balls are caſt; among which nine are gilt, the reſt white: Thoſe who get the nine gilt ones, name forty men, who are called Electors of the Firſt Election; theſe forty men, throw into the urn forty balls, of which twelve are gilt, the reſt white; thoſe who get the twelve gilt balls are called Electors of the Second Election, for they name five-and-twenty other men: Theſe five-and-twenty throw into the urn five-and-twenty balls, of which nine are gilt, and they who get them are called Electors of the Third Election; for theſe name one-and-forty men, in whoſe power it is to create a duke or prince of the republic: And they do it after this manner:

They chooſe from among themſelves three ſenators more venerable than the reſt, whom they call the Chiefs of the Congregation, and two ſecretaries; then there remain ſix-and-thirty, who give in their votes after this manner:

The three chiefs ſit in ſo many ſeats, more eminent than the reſt; then the ſecretaries call the ſix-and-thirty others in order before them, where every one throws into a box, in preſence of the chiefs, a little piece of wood, on which is written the name of him whom he would have to be duke; then every one of the ſix-and-thirty retires to his place, whilſt the ſecretaries read the ſchedules before the chiefs; and as many as they find there named for dukes, ſo many new ſchedules do they make: Theſe are thrown promiſcuously into a cap, or bonnet; from whence, after a ſhake or two to mingle them,

they are drawn out, and laid in order on a table; but before they draw them all out, the firſt ſchedule is read, and he whoſe name is written on it, is bid to go into the next conclave; then the Chiefs of the Congregation, as they are called, aſk the reſt, if any body there can object againſt the election of this man? for if they can, and he does not give a ſatisfactory anſwer, he is excluded from all poſſibility of being duke; but if he acquits himſelf well, he is acknowledged, and has the ducal crown put on his head. The preſent Duke of Venice is the hundred and * * * * * * inclusively, from Paulutius Aniſeſtus, the firſt that ever had that honour; being elected in the city Heraclea, in the year 697 of the Chriſtians hegira.

The Venetians are, in all their actions, very grave, uſing few words, eſpecially when they are at table. If they are not ſo lively and inventive as ſome other people of Italy, yet they perform all things with mature deliberation and judgment; which is the cauſe that their affairs for the moſt part ſucceed very happily.

The Italians have a common by-word current among them, that the Venetians are magnificent, crafty, and diſcreet; thoſe of Verona are ſtudious and faithful; thoſe of Padua light and fickle; thoſe of Vicenza revengeful. Again, they ſay, the Venetians bring money, Terviſo ſwords, and Brixia pioneers to the wars; and that the Venetians are good ſeamen, the Paduans good horſemen, and thoſe of Bergamo excellent at an ambuſh.

Of the women they have another proverb, that thoſe of Crema are fraudulent; they of Vicenza conſtant; they of Venice proud and inſolent; they of Verona gracious; thoſe of Brixia diligent; thoſe of Terviſo jealous; and thoſe of Bergamo crafty. They ſay likewiſe, that Bergamo has many ſlanderers; Padua many good ſoldiers;

Vicenza many counts; and Brixia many obdurate miſers.

Courteous miniſter, thou wilt bear, I hope, with my tedioufneſs in diſcourſing of this great republic, which cannot be handled in a few words.

As to the manner of their government, it is admirably mild and gentle, wiſe and juſt; ſeeking peace, but not refuſing war, when they have a juſt provocation. It is worthy of any man's conſideration, how this commonwealth has ſtood firm and unſhaken for above twelve hundred years, amidſt ſo many cruel wars, and potent enemies; ſo that her ſubjects, if they be compared with others, may be ſaid to enjoy the golden age, ſince they live in continual eaſe and tranquillity, increaſing daily in riches, honours, and every kind of proſperity.

This is to be aſcribed, in the firſt place, to the moſt excellent laws and rules of policy, left them by men of ſingular prudence and wiſdom, who, had they lived in the times of the ancient Greeks, might well have been liſted among the moſt famous philoſophers and lawgivers.

The duke, in the gravity of his port, the ſplendour of his robes, and the magnificence of his palace, ſeems to exhibit the majeſty of an emperor; and yet he has no more authority than any one of the ſenators who created him, for he has but one vote in the ſenate, as all the nobles have; only it lies upon him to give audience to foreign ambaſſadors, in the name of the ſenate. He can do nothing without the conſent of the ſenate, either in peace or war. The ſenate firſt decrees, and he confirms their edicts, which are alſo publiſhed in his name. It is lawful for him to go into all the courts of juſtice, and public tribunals, where he may paſs his verdict in any du-

bious caſe; yet ſo as any of the ſenators may contradict him if they pleaſe.

The form of government, therefore, in this republic appears to be an ariſtocracy, or the government of a few; not the richeſt, or the moſt powerful, but the wiſeſt and the beſt; ſuch as by a long ſeries of faithful ſervices have merited well of the commonwealth.

Theſe make up the college, or council of ten; which being joined with fifteen others, and ſix counſellors, the duke being preſident, has power of deliberating and decreeing things tending to the ſafety of the commonwealth; neither can theſe decrees be repealed. This is properly the divan, or privy council. There is beſides this a council, or diet, of two hundred and twenty-five citizens, who are properly called ſenators, and very much reſemble thoſe of ancient Rome; for none are permitted to enter this ſenate but nobles, or the ſons of ſuch; they muſt alſo be above five-and-twenty years of age. The third and laſt ſenate conſiſts of two thouſand five hundred men; but in regard a great part of theſe have ſome offices and honours abroad, there ſeldom meet above a thouſand ſix hundred when the houſe is fulleſt.

Theſe meet once every week, that is, on the firſt day, as alſo on ſome of their more ſolemn feſtivals; here magiſtrates are created, and public offices diſtributed with admirable order; from hence are choſen the two hundred and twenty-five, who make up the foregoing ſenate, as being the moſt prudent, expert, and converſant in the affairs of ſtate; theſe decide all controverſies of greater moment, as the affairs of peace and war, the care of fortifying their cities and caſtles, of creating generals and captains, of ſending embaſſies to foreign princes; here alſo are read all the letters, diſpatches, and expreſſes, which are addreſſed to the republic from other parts; in

a word, whatſoever is of more material conſideration is handled in this ſenate.

Impartial eſſendi, thou wilt not condemn me as an infidel, or an enemy of the muſſulmans, in that I repreſent to thee, in its true colours, the preſent ſtate of Venice: If we ought to give the devil his due, as the Chriſtians ſay, in God's name let us not rob men of theirs, though they be our enemies.

Magnificent and learned Hamet, adieu for this time.

Paris, 4th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1680.

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## VI.—*To* Osman Adrooneth, *Aſtrologer in Ordinary to the Sultan.*

The inhabitants of theſe weſtern parts are in a great and general conſternation at the appearance of a new comet, or blazing ſtar; it riſes much about the time the ſun ſets, and in the ſame quarter of the heavens; the body of it looks no bigger than a ſtar of the firſt magnitude, from whence ſprings a pyramid of light, extending itſelf to the cuſp of the mid heaven, where its cone ſeems to terminate.

The ſuperſtitious call it the ſword of God, becauſe of its form, being not much unlike an old two-edged rapier; I am ſure it does not reſemble a Turkiſh ſcimetar, for thoſe, thou knoweſt, are oblique in their figure, and this is ſtraight.

They are full of melancholy preſages; and the aſtrologers themſelves give out that this comet portends dreadful calamities to Europe, which may not diſcover themſelves perhaps theſe many years; nay, they affirm, "That this generation ſhall be quite extinct, before the

effects of this tremendous apparition ſhall ſeize on the earth."

I have a great veneration for the ſcience of the ſtars, and even for judicial aſtrology, though I cannot pretend to any ſkill in any of them; I have ſtudied them both till I was weary, being diſcouraged by the difference of men's opinions, and the uncertainty of their concluſions, in matters of ſo remote, ſublime, and myſterious a nature; beſides, I fainted under the burden of ſuch vaſt ſpeculations, whilſt I found myſelf ſtill wandering, not only in the blindneſs of my own proper intellect, but alſo in the general darkneſs of human reaſon.

I conſidered the birth-place of theſe ſciences, which all will confeſs to be the Eaſt, and there I found the Chaldeans differing from the Gymnoſophiſts of India, theſe again contradicting my countrymen the Arabians: To paſs from thence into Africa, I perceived the Egyptians were of one ſentiment, the Ethiopians of another, and the Moors of a third; neither could I diſcern any agreement between the Greeks and Romans; as for the Jews, they claſhed with all.

Plato, Proclus, Ariſtotle, Averroes, and many other ſages, aſſert there are but eight ſpheres; yet Hermes Triſmegiſtus, with ſome of the Perſian magi, added a ninth; ſo did Axarchel the Moor, and his countryman Tebith; of the ſame opinion was Albert the Great; whilſt there are ſome who tax theſe with making a decimation in the orbs, and taking a tythe from heaven, for they aſſert the number of the ſpheres to be ten.

They not only thus differ from one another, but through that inconſtancy which is inſeparable from the minds of mortals, they vary even from themſelves, one day of one opinion, the next of a contrary; ſo Alphon-

ſus one while aſſerted nine ſpheres, and a few years after retrenched himſelf to eight. This is a vanity from which the greateſt and moſt eminent writers in the world have not been free; indeed, this mutability of opinion is natural to all men, as if our minds were ſubject to the laws of generation and corruption, like our bodies, or as if there were a continual flux and reflux of our thoughts, as there is of our corporeal atoms.

Theſe authors not only vary about the number of the celeſtial orbs, but alſo concerning their motion, eſpecially that of the eighth, which is called the ſphere of the fixed ſtars; for the Chaldæans and Egyptians held it had but one motion, others affirmed it had more; the Talmudiſts aſſign it two, whilſt ſome modern aſtronomers among the Chriſtians are more liberal, and allow it three diſtinct motions; one of Trepidation, as they call it; and this is its own proper courſe, which it performs, they ſay, in ſeven thouſand years; a ſecond of Giration, which it derives from the ninth ſphere, as one wheel is rolled about by another; and this circuit, according to their opinion, is not finiſhed in leſs than forty-nine thouſand years; and if that be true, we muſt not expect the diſſolution of the world before that term is expired; for it would be impious to ſuppoſe that the Eternal Architect having made this ſphere for a circuit of ſo long a duration, would ſtop it before its race were fully run, much leſs in the midſt of its career, or by that time it had accompliſhed a ſixth part of its revolution, as the Jews and Chriſtians believe: The third motion of this ſphere is called rapid and diurnal, for which they ſay it is obliged to the tenth orb, or primum mobile.

Then again they differ in the meaſure of the time they allow for the motion of the fixed ſtars; one will have them to ſpend an hundred years in travelling one degree;

another brings them to this ſtation in ſixty-ſix years; a third in ſeventy-five; a fourth in ſeventy-eight; the Jews in ſeventy; the Chriſtians in eighty; whilſt the Indians go beyond them all, aſſerting that there are two ſtars in the eight ſphere diametrically oppoſite to each other, which do not ſupply each other's place in the zodiac in leſs than an hundred and forty-four thouſand years: They affirm alſo there are many motions of the ſpheres above, which are yet unknown to mortals.

If this be ſo, there may be, for ought we know, other ſtars and bodies alſo, to which theſe motions may agree, though we cannot diſcern either the one or the other, becauſe of the ſuperlative vaſtneſs of the height, and the imperfection of human art; of this opinion were Alpetrag, Phavorinus the philoſopher, and others.

By all that I have ſaid, I do not pretend to inſtruct thee in things whereof thou wert ignorant: I know thee, by general fame, and the character of men of judgment, to be an accompliſhed maſter in this myſterious ſcience; but I reflect thus on the inconſtancy and doubtfulneſs of men's reaſon in theſe matters, as an introduction to the liberty I will take of telling thee once again my own thoughts concerning comets, which firſt ſuggeſted the trouble I now give thee in this letter, as I did once before on the like occaſion.

Suffer me to be a little prolix and tedious, for theſe ſpeculations are ſtrong, and not handled with eaſe, or in a few words. I would fain ſee the aſtronomer that has been in heaven, and can give me an account what is the true motion of the planet Mars, or that has diſcovered the exact ingreſs of the ſun into the equinoctial points; let him alſo reveal to me the nature of the galaxy, and what ſubſtances or qualities they are which compoſe the milky way: Theſe are ſubjects which have puzzled all

antiquity, and the wiſeſt of theſe modern times are as much to ſeek as their fathers. O fatal darkneſs of this mortal ſtate! what miſts of ignorance and error are our minds enveloped with? We are perpetually bewildered in a labyrinth and circle of ſcepticiſms and ambiguities: The ſun by day diſcloſes to us the outward features and lineaments of theſe lower elements; the moon and ſtars are not backward to ſhow us the face of the heavens by night, unleſs ſometimes the envious ſpirits of the air draw a veil of thick black clouds before the lovely picture, and leave us all in darkneſs: But fate has hidden from us the interior parts of heaven and earth, and all the other beings in the univerſe.

Among the reſt, I cannot but conceive we are ſtrangely miſtaken in the nature of theſe comets; for if they are only certain heaps of inflammable matter, kindled in the air by the force of the ſun-beams, or by ſome other influence of nature, how come they to have ſo regular and diſtinct a motion of their own? how come they to riſe and ſet at certain hours every day and night, varying only as the heavenly bodies do, in appearing earlier or later one day than another, according to the ſucceſſive alteration of the four ſeaſons of the year, that ſo they may paſs, like them, through all the ſigns of the zodiac? If the earth moves, and theſe comets be in the air, they muſt needs be carried round with the motion of the whole vortex; but it is apparent to human-ſight, that they are not thus whirled round with the atmoſphere, but have a diſtinct, and ſometimes a quite contrary motion; they are ſtatic, direct, and retrograde, like the planets, which is almoſt a demonſtration that their ſeat is in the heavens, at leaſt above the interſecting orb of the moon; and if ſo, I ſhould be glad to have an account of their generation and original; for the ſubſtance of the heavens being immuta-

ble, and not ſubject to any change or corruption, it is impoſſible that any new poſthumous being can be generated there. There may, I believe, in every age, be diſcloſed and uncabined ſome glittering forms in the heavens, which before lay hid and locked up in the treaſures of the Moſt High; but they are as old as the world itſelf: That is my creed; let other men think what they pleaſe.

If I could wonder at any thing, it would be at the miſtaken piety of thoſe, who, to avoid the Charybdis of atheiſm, which attributes all things to nature or chance, fall into the Scylla of fanaticiſm and religious dotage, whilſt they vainly aſſert, that every new alteration in the world is an effect of God's immediate creative power. Not a child is conceived, but God then and there creates a ſoul for it; not a plague, fire, peſtilence, or any other common calamity happens, but they muſt diſturb the reſt of the Eternal Deity, and make him have a particular chief hand in the conſpiracy; ſo of comets they preſage tremendous things, as if God had immediately created them to warn this lower world of ſome approaching judgments; whereas, according to the dictates of more impartial reaſon, they are the products of his firſt fiat, when he made the univerſe, only he has reſerved the revelation of them to certain periods of time. But theſe ſort of people affront God really, for fear of affronting him; they injure his goodneſs, to ſave his omnipotence; and, by a back-blow they ſtrike at both, in defence of his ſuppoſed arbitrary will. "Let not my ſoul ſit down in their cabala, nor my mind liſten to the ſecrets of their divinity."

O ſage Oſman, I believe that all things flow from God by an emanation without beginning, and ſubſiſt on him by a dependence which ſhall know no end; with him the cauſes of all fleeting and decaying things have a permanent ſtability; in him reſide immutable ſprings of what-

ſoever is ſubject to change; in his eternal eſſence do live the principles and models of all beings; but he is no daily labourer; it is a grand contempt of the Divine Majeſty, thus to invade the reſt and ſabbatiſm of the Moſt High, who dwells for ever in infinite and eternal ſolitude and bliſs, to make him the drudge of his creatures, who has ten thouſand thouſand myriads of angels to execute his will.

Undoubtedly he has contrived the univerſe with ſuch ineffable art, that his whole pleaſure is performed by ſecond cauſes: This infinite machine is full of wheels, and has an eternal motion, whereof he is the original ſpring. If I may deſcend to ſo low a compariſon, obſerve but the courſe of a miller; when once he has turned the cog of his mill, he has no more to do but ſtand ſtill and look on; the work goes forward of itſelf without any more of his labour till he ſtop it; ſo the Supreme Artiſt, when he had once ſet the primum mobile a-going, had no more to do but to enjoy himſelf in eternal beatitude.

It is an indignity to the omnipotent God, to ſay or think he was not able to make a world as perfect as a mortal man can frame the imagination of. Now I think it is very eaſy to conceive, that as a hand-mill, which continually requires the attendance of ſomebody to keep it in motion, has leſs of artifice in it than a water or a wind-mill, which go of themſelves; ſo a world, that muſt always have its maker ſlaving and drudging, toiling and moiling at the product of every individual generation and and corruption of every new event, or what appears to us be ſo, is not ſo excellent and perfect, as one that can perform its own taſk by the neceſſary force which one contiguous atom has upon another, like wheels upon wheels.

To conclude all; undoubtedly the works of God are moſt perfect and full of wiſdom; he made all things from

eternity, and they obey his law; he has appointed the times and ſeaſons of good and evil, the ſymptoms whereof appear to mankind in various manners; in dreams and viſions by night, in ominous accidents by day, in prophecies and general whiſpers, in apparitions, ſpectres, and monſtrous forms, in heaven, and all the elements; finally, in comets.

But, oh learned Adrooneth! does it therefore follow, that theſe ſigns, theſe apparitions, theſe comets, &c. are freſhly created for the ſake of mankind? Are there not various ends and uſes of all things? Are there not the fixed ſtars, and the planets, according to their different configurations and aſpects, ſigns of good and evil, as well as comets? and are not the ſtars as old as the world? Why may not the comets be ſo too, though they are revealed at certain ſtated periods of time?

There is one comprehenſive reaſon for all, in that double query, and I will ſay no more to the ſage Adrooneth, for whom a word is ſufficient.

I pray Heaven divert from thee the influence of evil ſtars; and that whilſt thou contemplateſt their order, motion, and efficacy, thou mayeſt not tumble into a ditch, as did Anaximenes, and Thales the Mileſian aſtrologer. Adieu.

Paris, 9th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1682.

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## VII.—*To the Venerable* Mufti.

The people of Rome having aboliſhed the government of kings, transferred the ſovereignty on Brutus and Collatinus, the champions of their liberty, altering both their right and title; for they called them conſuls, not kings, and ordained that their power ſhould laſt but a year, which

being expired, new ones were elected in their ſtead: And the reaſon why they had two, was, that if one proved guilty of evil adminiſtration, injuſtice, or tyranny, the other, having equal power, might curb him, and rectify the public affairs. They were alſo called conſuls, to put them in mind that they were to do nothing arbitrarily, but in all things of importance to conſult their fellow-citizens.

So great was the joy of the Romans upon this recovery of their freedom, that they could ſcarce believe it was true, but as it uſually falls out in any ſurpriſing happineſs, all ſeemed as a dream; and ſo inveterate was their averſion for kings, that they expelled Collatinus from the city, only becauſe he was nephew to Tarquin the Proud, whoſe name alſo he bore. Valerius Publicola was ſubſtituted in his ſtead, a man ſingularly devoted to the public good; he owned himſelf the creature of the people, and gave power of appealing from him to them; and leſt he might offend them by the lofty building of his houſe, which alſo ſtanding on a rock, ſeemed ſtrong as a caſtle, he pulled down the upper ſtoreys, and made it level with ordinary houſes.

Brutus his colleague was no leſs ſtudious than he to gain the favour of the citizens, even with the deſtruction and ſlaughter of his own children: for when he perceived his ſons conſpiring to reſtore the abrogated monarchy, he brought them forth into the forum, or market-place, and having cauſed them to be ſcourged with rods, he beheaded them; thus demonſtrating, that, as a parent of the people, he adopted them in the room of his perfidious children.

The Romans being from this time made perfectly free, firſt took arms in defence of their new-gotten liberty, againſt the neighbouring kings, next for the bounds of

their dominions, then for their confederates, and laſt of all for glory and empire, being on every ſide invaded and moleſted by the adjacent people; for they had no territories but within the walls of their city; ſo that they were no ſooner out of the gates, but they were expoſed to the Tuſcans and Latins, between whom the city was ſeated as it were in the middle; therefore, reſolving to enlarge their territories, they took one city and province after another, till at length they became maſters of all Italy.

Their firſt expedition was againſt Porſenna, King of the Tuſcans, who took the field with a great army, having the Tarquins along with him, whom he undertook to re eſtabliſh in the throne of their fathers; he made fierce and reſolute advances, poſſeſſing himſelf of the hill Janiculum, and the avenues of the city, where he beſieged them cloſe, and preſſed them with famine; yet the Romans ſuſtained all with admirable bravery; and their ſtout reſiſtance had this effect, that at length Porſenna, when he had almoſt vanquiſhed them, made a league of peace. He was chiefly moved to this by thoſe prodigies and miracles of Roman fortitude, Horatius Cocles, Mutius Scævola, and Clelia; the firſt of which, when he was not able alone to keep off the unequal throng of his enemies every where crowding on him, at length broke down the bridge, and ſwam acroſs the Tiber with his weapons in hand; the ſecond attempting to kill Porſenna in his own camp, when by miſtake he had, inſtead of the king, ſtabbed his viſier or ſecretary, and for that fact was ſeized, he thruſt his right-hand, that was guilty of the error, into the fire, ſaying, with a menacing voice, "Think not thyſelf the ſafer, O king, becauſe thou haſt eſcaped my hand, ſince there yet remain three hundred Romans who have all ſworn to make the ſame attempt." Porſenna

trembled, and was aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the man, whilſt Mutius ſtood ſtill, undaunted, with his hand broiling in the fire, as a demonſtration of his invincible conſtancy, and of the truth of what he affirmed. Thus did thoſe two famous men behave themſelves; and as if a glorious envy had fermented the virtue of the female ſex, a certain noble virgin, called Clelia, who was given in hoſtage to King Porſenna, eſcaped her guards by night, and mounting a horſe which ſhe found in the way, ſwam over the Tiber on him. Porſenna, as if he were terrified at the fortune and ſtupendous reſolution of the Romans, conſented to a peace; but the Latins would not let them reſt ſo, for they alſo attempted to reſtore the Tarquins, not ſo much in love to them, as out of ſpite to the inhabitants of Rome, being deſirous to ſee that people at leaſt ſubjugated at home, who lorded it ſo abroad: There was a bloody fight between them; and the fame goes, that two gods, Caſtor and Pollux, were preſent on white horſes, as ſpectators of the combat; wherefore, after the Romans had gotten the victory, they built a temple to theſe warlike deities, as a ſtipend or reward to their champions. And thus far they fought for liberty, which having ſucceſsfully aſſerted and eſtabliſhed, they were involved in freſh wars about the confines of their dominion.

It would be too tedious to rehearſe the various battles and encounters between them and the neighbouring nations, wherein at laſt they always got the victory, and extended the limits of their empire far and wide; ſuch alſo, and ſo prodigious were the actions, exploits, and hardy performances of this ſtout people, that when King Pyrrhus conſidered it, he broke forth into this exclamation: "How eaſy were it (ſaid he) to obtain the empire of the world, were Pyrrhus King of the Romans, or the Romans ſoldiers to Pyrrhus!"

Yet as faſt as this victorious people enlarged their territories abroad, ſo did their ſeditions and tumults increaſe at home, raiſed by the ambition of ſome, and the diſcontent of others, till at length they had entirely ſubdued all Italy to their obedience; in which enterpriſe they ſpent five hundred years, before they brought it to perfection.

Then, like a fire which devours all the wood it meets in its way, till its fury be ſtopped by the intercourſe of ſome river, ſo the Romans ceaſed not to conquer to the very ſhores of Italy; but when they conſidered Sicily as a moſt rich and plentiful iſland, only rent, as it were, by ſome injurious ſtroke of time, or fate, or chance, from their continent, they reſolved to unite theſe again by arms and war, which could not be joined together by bridges or piers; and a very favourable opportunity preſented itſelf to them for this purpoſe, whilſt the confederated people of Meſſina, the chief mart of that iſland, complained of the tyranny practiſed by the Carthaginians.

At that time Rome and Carthage were emulous of each other, both equally rivals for Sicily and the empire of the world; therefore, under a maſk of helping their friends and allies, the Romans betook themſelves to the ſea, but with real deſign to enrich themſelves with booty, and adding this iſland to their empire; whilſt the Carthaginians appeared like open enemies and pirates, without any diſguiſe. Theſe having loſt their fleets in various conflicts, their fate yielding to that of Rome, the Romans made Sicily a tributary province, and then reduced Sardinia and Corſica. Thus, having expelled the Carthaginians out of all the iſlands of the Mediterranean Sea, there remained nothing for them to conquer on that ſide but Africk itſelf, where alſo they landed, and took above three hundred places of ſtrength in a ſhort time, though they were ſtoutly oppoſed, not only by men, but alſo by monſters;

for a certain ſtupendous great ſerpent, an hundred and twenty feet in length, annoyed their camp very much, near the river Bragada, as if this dreadful beaſt had come into the world on purpoſe to be the champion of its native country, and defend or revenge oppreſſed Afric: But Regulus, whoſe victorious arms neither men, nor monſters, nor fate, could hitherto reſiſt, made no ſtop, till he came with his army before the walls of Carthage itſelf, the root of all this war. Here fortune began to fall off from him, and prove his enemy, yet ſo as only to give an occaſion for the Roman virtue to appear more illuſtrious; for though by the good conduct of Xantippus the Lacedemonian general, thirty thouſand Romans were killed in one fight, and Regulus himſelf taken priſoner, yet ſo great a misfortune could not make him loſe himſelf, or ſink into any paſſion beneath the conſtancy and fortitude of an invincible hero. The Carthaginians ſent him as their ambaſſador to the ſenate of Rome, to propoſe a peace, and the exchange of captives; but he was of a contrary ſentiment, and diſſuaded the ſenators from hearkening to any ſuch overtures, chooſing rather bravely to return to his former captivity, there to be crucified, than be inſtrumental in word or deed to the leaſt diſhonour or diſadvantage of his country; ſo that though vanquiſhed, he yet ſeemed to triumph over his conquerors; and his lamented fate had this influence on the Romans, that it made them proſecute the war with more fierceneſs and ardour, to revenge the blood of Regulus, than in hopes of conqueſt; ſo deep are the impreſſions of love which a good general, living or dead, makes in the hearts of his ſoldiers. Thus the war was renewed again in Sicily, wherein the Romans came off conquerors; and as an evidence of the greatneſs of their victory, they ſhowed an hundred and twenty elephants taken from the enemy in the field, which would

have been a great prey had they been taken in hunting, but now ſerved only as a trophy of a more expenſive conqueſt. This victory was obtained in the conſulſhip of Metellus, which was followed by a terrible overthrow at ſea in that of Appius Claudius, when the Romans ſeemed not ſo much overcome by their enemies, as by the profaneneſs of their general, on the divine vengeance; for he conſulting the augurs before he began the engagement, chickens were let out of their coops, to obſerve the wiſhed-for tripudiation of the corn they were to feed on; but when the oraculous birds would not taſte a grain, the general, diſguſted at the fatal omen, commanded them to be drowned in the ſea, ſaying with an impious jeſt, "Since they will not eat, let them drink their fill." In the ſame place was the Roman navy ſunk and deſtroyed.

There were many ſuch encounters as theſe between them, for the ſpace of four-and-twenty years and upwards, even till the conſulſhip of Lutatius Catulus, when the enemy ſeemed not to advance with a fleet of ſhips, well manned and rigged with all neceſſaries, but all Carthage appeared upon the ſea, with the woods and foreſts round about it. This proved its ruin; for they were too heavy for ſervice, whereas the Roman navy was light and expeditious, like a moving camp in the ſea; in a word, they ſet upon the Carthaginians ſo furiouſly, and ſhattered their veſſels with ſuch ſpeed, that all the ſea between Sardinia and Sicily was covered with the diſmal wrecks; and this victory was ſo great, that they had no farther thoughts of ſailing to Africa, and razing the walls of their enemies, that being counted needleſs, ſince Carthage was now extinguiſhed in the ſea.

After this war was finiſhed, the Romans enjoyed a ſhort [illegible] were to breathe themſelves; and as a demonſtration of peace, the temple of Janus was ſhut up, it hav-

ing been conſtantly open before, from the reign of Numa Pompilius; and this diſtinction was the public emblem of peace or war.

Thou wilt not have patience to read their wars with the Ligurians, Gauls, Illyrians, Macedonians, Syrians, Germans, Spaniards, and, in fine, with the moſt potent nations on earth; it will be as irkſome to be detained with a rehearſal of their domeſtic ſeditions, and changes of government; ſuffice it to ſay, that this people grew worſe by the increaſe of their empire; and after they had ſubverted Carthage, Corinth, Numantia, and other famous cities of Europe, Aſia, and Afric; after they had ſubdued Gaul, Thrace, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Britain, and many other moſt rich and opulent provinces abroad, they began to make wars among themſelves; their former virtues turned into vices; the ſeditions, conſpiracies, and emulations of the Triumviri, the Tribunes, of Catiline, Marius, Sylla, Anthony, Pompey, and a thouſand other popular commotions, helped towards the confuſion of this empire, which ſeemed to be the ſupport of all things.

Moſt divine of the ſucceſſors of the prophets, this vaſt empire is now become but as a ſhattered ſkeleton of ancient Rome, and moſt of the exterior members are fallen to the ſhare of the all-conquering Ottomans. God perpetuate the victories of true believers, and yet grant that their conqueſts may not outlaſt their virtues.

Paris, 8th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1681.

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## VIII.—To Denet Oglou.

I am as waggiſh as a janizary that has newly received his aſpers; there is more ſatire in me at this time than

there was in Juvenal and Perſius, and yet it is only the dregs of what I have vented on ſome learned bigots here in Paris, with whom I have been drinking theſe two or three hours; I tell thee plainly, I put off the muſſulman for a while, and took my glaſſes frankly, or like a Nazarene.

The diſcourſe we were upon was aſtrology and the nature of comets, &c.; but God tumble me headlong into the lap of Tagot, if ever I heard ſuch blockheads, dunces, fools, fots; I know not what to call them properly. Zounds! how can human reaſon be ſo debauched? How can man become ſuch an inſenſible piece of ſtuff, to think as they do? They made me bluſh for ſhame or anger; they made me ſorry that I was a man to be ranked in the ſame liſt with them; however, I ſuppreſſed my boiling choler; I bit my lips and nails, and did every thing that patience could ſuggeſt, for I uſe to be a very boon companion in my wine; but at length, as it is the fate of all diſputers, we grew too hot; there was ſuch a tempeſt of words and paſſionate expreſſions, that we could hardly find a grain of ſenſe; at laſt we fell from words to blows, and I, though old and crazy, held up my head as well as I could.

Thou wilt believe, at this age, I have no great ſtrength; but I tell thee my courage is the ſame as when I was but five-and-twenty; I cannot flinch from provoking dangers, and when I am thoroughly inflamed with wrath, death itſelf appears to me in the ſame figure which painters give it, a mere naked ſkeleton, which I have more reaſon to pity than fear; if I am afraid of any thing, it is of breaking its bones, and ſpoiling its ſhape, in the claſh of my fury; ſo tender am I even of death itſelf, the obdurate and inexorable deſtroyer of all mankind.

One of the company, that was a prieſt, and ſat right over againſt me at the table, threw his four-cornered cap at my head, whilſt his next neighbour checked him for his inſolence; but he was full of fat, and empty of reaſon or civility; a great hulking fellow, that makes a figure like the ſtatue of Pont Ginello, at Catanea in Sicily, only he is a little taller; but he has a ſwinging tun of a carcaſe.

After he had abuſed me thus, he ſwore, "If he had the chalice of the altar in his hand, he would do the ſame thing; nay, if he had the conſecrated wine in it, he would turn the blood of Chriſt into poiſon, as he could turn wine into blood, to be revenged of me."

There was by good chance an Armenian or two in the company, (not any of Solyman's gang) who took him up upon his menace; they challenged him ſeverely to anſwer his words before the Archbiſhop of Paris; but the cunning prieſt had more wit in his anger; when he began to reflect on the bad conſequences of a ſummons, he crouched, wheedled, and fawned like a ſpaniel; ſo fearful are they of a ſpiritual court, which is almoſt as bad in France as the Inquiſition in Spain.

Then there was a captain, an old *miles emeritus*, a penſioner, who having not drunk ſuch a quantity of wine many a day, took my part becauſe he ſat on my ſide of the table, for he never ſaw me before in his life-time, as I know of; however, the old gentleman ſhowed himſelf ſtout, and demonſtrated that he would ſtand a puſh for ſouls; but there was nobody would oppoſe him, ſave myſelf, and I did it *in verbo clerici*, not *manu* or *enſe militis*, God knows. I prayed the good old man to be pacified; I laid my right hand to my breaſt, and heaved both that and the other joined to heaven; I invocated all the patriarchs and prophets; I bawled at the ſaints and angels; I ſummoned God Almighty himſelf to appear in my

vindication; but nothing would do ſave downright fighting.

To it we went pell-mell; the fellows on the other ſide of the table were eager; nothing would ſatisfy them but blood; their rapiers were drawn, and they were upon the paſs, when I ſtarted up, and cried out aloud, "Gentlemen, it is the wrong minute for ye to fight in; Mars is in the eighth houſe, in conjunction with Saturn, and in quartile with the ſun, a very malevolent aſpect!" Upon this, they grew all madder than before. "Damn that aſtrologer," ſays one; "Curſe upon his ſtomach," ſays another; till at laſt they all fell foul upon me; only my ſide captain ſtood up ſtiffly for me: I did what became a man, but it is to his bravery I owe my life; for one of the oppoſite ſparks made a full paſs at my breaſt, which the noble old captain parried, with a ſudden ſhoot of his arm athwart, and a dexterity which I can never admire enough.

I, that had neither ſword nor ſkill in the ſcience of fencing, thought it my part to expoſe my body between my ſeeming friends and enemies, ſince all the occaſion of this quarrel was on my account, as an aſtrologer; I leaped upon the table, and ſeized upon the ſword of my captain's antagoniſt; I ſmiled upon him at the ſame time, and convinced him that I was not in anger; I twiſted it out of his hand, with a complaiſant violence, and then the ſtrife was appeaſed; for it was not he that began the quarrel, any more than my old captain; but the prieſt was wholly in the fault, who ſtraggling out of his ſphere, pretended to ſet up for an aſtrologer, and tell us things that would not ſquare with reaſon.

My Dgnet, thou knoweſt me, and all my inclinations; thou art ſenſible that I cannot ſtoop to the magiſterial dictates of error, nor the bold impoſitions of ignorance; let them approach as near as they will to truth on the

back-ſide, they are the farther off from attaining it; and ſo let thou and I enjoy ourſelves in perfect tranquillity.

Paris, 17th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1681.

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## IX.—*To* Hamet, *Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

Having in my laſt ſpoken of the preſent ſtate of Venice, wherein I omitted nothing that I thought worth thy obſervation, I ſhould now in order touch upon Candia, or Crete, the moſt conſiderable iſland that the Venetians not long ago had under their obedience; but ſince by the fate of war it is fallen into the hands of the victorious Oſmans, I will ſay but very little of it, and paſs to the other republics of Europe.

There is no doubt but ſince the conqueſt of Candia by the muſſulmans, the imperial city abounds with geographical deſcriptions, natural, moral, and political obſervations on it; but perhaps they are wanting in the hiſtory of that famous iſland, in regard the books of the gentiles are not much read by the true believers; and it is from theſe only we can collect the ancient memoirs of the nations which were once in their own poſſeſſion.

This iſland was once called Crete, and ſaid to be the nurſery of Jupiter, as alſo his ſepulchre; it obtained likewiſe the title of Hecatompolis, becauſe of the hundred cities that were in it; and ſome called it the iſland of the archers, in regard the inhabitants being taught from their infancy to handle the Scythian bow, grew ſo expert in that exerciſe, that they ſurpaſſed all other nations.

The Lacedemonians, Athenians, and other renowned commonwealths of Greece, received their laws from men born in this iſland, as Plato and Pliny teſtify; and yet

Epimenides, one of their own poets, gives them a bad character, when he ſays, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται κακὰ θηρία, γάστερες ἀργαί.

They were much addicted alſo to all kinds of ſorcery and enchantments, a fraudulent race of people, covetous, greedy, idle, and ignorant of ingenious arts and ſciences.

Yet notwithſtanding this, they were ſo powerful of old, that they could, as with a bridle, curb all Greece. During the reign of one of their kings, whoſe name was Cydon, came up the uſe of Pyrrhic meaſures, with which the youth being armed cap-à-pee, danced with great labour and ſweat; and the inhabitants have all along been ſo tenacious of this cuſtom, that it is obſerved to this day among the ruſtic Candiots on their holidays; for at ſuch times the youth of the iſland meet together, armed with a bow in one hand, and a naked ſword in the other, with a quiver of arrows hanging at their backs, and thus they will dance indefatigably in the heat of ſummer, even at noon-day, when the ſun ſcorches all things with inſupportable fervours.

In proceſs of time, this iſland became ſubject to the Grecian empire, and as ſuch fell into the hands of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Emperor of Conſtantinople, who gave it to the Marquis of Montferrat, by whom it was ſold to the Venetians in the year 1194, for an incredible ſum of money, and that republic has held it ever ſince, till it was lately taken from them by the invincible Ottomans.

It is worth remark, that Candia, the chief city of this iſle (called Caſtri and Candax by the Greeks) is a place of that prodigious ſtrength that it ſuſtained a blockade of twenty-two years, from 1645 to 1667; and after that a ſiege of two years, from 1667 to 1669; in which ſpace

of time it is thought 600000 muſſulmans loſt their lives before it.

The next republic in order is that of Genoa, a city whoſe power and empire was far greater in former times than it is at preſent; for they extended their dominions even to the Black Sea, where Tanais, that parts Europe from Aſia, pours her waters into the Palus Mæotis. Here they poſſeſſed the city Theodoſia or Caffa, as it is called at this day; they alſo made themſelves maſters of Cyprus, Leſbos, Chios, with other iſlands in the Archipelago, and even of Pera itſelf, that magnificent adjunct to the imperial city.

Yet from the beginning they were feudatories of the Roman empire, till the year 600 of the Chriſtians hegira; for then Lotharis, king of the Lombards, took the city by force, and plundered it; but when, after ſome years, it had recovered its priſtine glory again, Charles I. and his ſon Pepin, kings of Italy, and their ſucceſſors the kings of France, bore rule there for almoſt an hundred years, placing governors in the city, who bore the title of Counts of Genoa. And when afterwards the Saracens had ſubdued Corſica, Ademarus (then Count of Genoa) armed out a fleet of galleys, invaded the iſland, and having defeated the true believers, took poſſeſſion of it, and reduced it under the juriſdiction of Genoa, whoſe power at this time was very great by ſea.

After the dominion of Charles the Great, his poſterity was by degrees ſo diminiſhed, that at length it became in a manner quite extinct; the more potent among the citizens took turns to uſurp the government, and exerciſe a tyranny over the inhabitants, which ſo exaſperated them, that they often ſubmitted themſelves to foreign princes; but finding ſtill as great inconveniencies in this dependence on ſtrangers, at laſt, following the example of the

Venetians, they chose to themselves a duke, in the year 1337 of the Christians hegira; him they sent with a fleet to conquer Cyprus, which he accomplished with good success; for, having taken the king and queen of the country captives, he imprisoned them, till they agreed with him for a yearly tribute to be paid to the republic of Genoa, and then he restored them to their native possession, reserving only Famagusta, the chief city of the island, to himself.

He entered also into a war with the Venetians, but being overcome in battle, at his return he was deposed from the ducal office, and thrown into prison, another being chosen in his place. This was more fortunate than his predecessor against the enemy, doing them many injuries, but at length he was killed in battle.

Then the Genoese elected another duke, who going to Constantinople, performed such eminent services to the emperor in his wars, that he gave him the island Mitylene, which the Genoese held till the year 1354.

After this they created one to rule over them under the title of Prince, in the year 1381; but not liking his government, they threw themselves upon the protection of Charles VII. King of France, who sent thither his deputy. Being soon weary of the French government, they joined themselves to the Duke of Milan, under whose patronage they lived till the year 1435, and then abdicating him, they created a duke of their own again: This raised factions in the city, whilst some adhered to the French interest, and others espoused the Duke of Milan's cause. At last they fell again under the power of the French, whom they obeyed, till Andreas d'Oria having quelled the seditions, and pacified the contentions of the Freggi and Torni, two prevailing factions in the city, one consisting of the nobles, the other of the commons, he esta-

bliſhed that liberty in the commonwealth of Genoa, which ſhe has enjoyed ever ſince, till of late ſome new troubles have been given them by the Kings of France and Spain.

As to the original of the Genoeſe, it is uncertain. Strabo and others are of opinion that this nation deſcended from the Greeks, whilſt Thucydides derives them from the Sicilians. They were called Ligurians by the people of Rome; and Florus mentions a certain race of Ligurians, who dwelt in the dens and caves of mountains, being a very fierce and warlike people.

But now-a-days the Genoeſe are a very polite and civiliſed people, of a lively and ſubtle wit, eſpecially in merchandiſing, by which they greatly enrich themſelves; they are alſo exceeding induſtrious, ſhunning no labour or danger for the ſake of gain; they appear ſtudious of thoſe things which tend to the good of the commonwealth, yet are extremely fickle and inconſtant, given to faction, and deſirous of novelty, as is manifeſt by what I have before related of them, which occaſioned a certain king of France, when one of his lords told him, "That the Genoeſe were about to throw themſelves on his patronage," to anſwer, not without ſome indignation, "That they might go to the devil for protection; for I (ſays he) will have nothing to do with men who are more unſtedfaſt than the waves of the ſea."

This inconſtancy never appeared more plainly than in the late conſpiracy of Freggi and Torni, which had like to have proved of fatal conſequence. As to Vachero and Dalbi, they were like the dog in Æſop's fables, who loſt the bone to catch at his ſhadow in the water: So theſe ſea-myrmidons were not content with the ſtrong party which they had made in the city, but muſt needs go to corrupt the navy too, which ruined all their deſign, for the plot was diſcovered by one of the ſea captains. This

commonwealth has been afflicted with many wars and plagues, but none of either sort ever threatened it with so much desolation as the last, the one having almost exhausted their treasury, and the other as near emptied the city of its inhabitants. As for the first misfortune, the scarcity of money, they knew quickly how to remedy it, being perfect chemists, and masters of the philosopher's stone, if there be any such thing in nature; but whether there be or not, this is certain, that the Genoese are old doctors at garbling, transmuting, and adulterating of metals; and the Ottoman empire has experienced it, to the great damage of our merchants at Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, and other ports, where the Genoese did put off their base coin, to the value of some millions; but this cheat may cost them dear one time or other.

The Genoese appear at present more inclinable to merchandise than to war; however, it must be confessed that this commonwealth has brought forth valiant and expert soldiers, as is evident from the families of the Dorias, Spinolas, and others, who have proved famous generals, and leaders of armies in several parts of Europe.

Of such as these has Genoa more cause to boast, than of any strong forts, castles, or fenced cities within her dominions in Italy; nay, the chief city, Genoa itself, trusts more in the King of Spain's protection than in her own strength. That monarch is indebted to the Genoese merchants eighteen millions of gold, beside the interest of * * * * * * * years; for this bill was given in to him in the year 1600 of the Christians begun. By this thou mayest guess at the riches of this commonwealth.

As to the manner of their government, it differs not much from that of Venice, the supreme power being in the hands of the senate, who elect a duke every two years by lot, out of four men who are proposed as worthy of

that high office. No man can propoſe any thing to the ſenate but the duke himſelf, who lives in a public palace during the two years of his government, and has a guard of five hundred Germans about his houſe and perſon.

It would be ſuperfluous to trouble thee with an account of the judicial courts, the manner of electing the ſenators, and other public magiſtrates, with the reſt of their peculiar politics; beſides, I believe thou art almoſt cloyed with the length of this letter; wherefore, begging thee to put the beſt conſtruction on my endeavours, I bid thee adieu.

Paris, 17th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1681.

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## X.—*To* Dgnet Oglou.

I formerly ſent a letter to the ſage Oſman Adrooneth, aſtrologer in ordinary to the Grand Signior, wherein I informed him of a comet, or blazing ſtar, which then newly appeared in the heavens; I took an occaſion in that diſpatch to venture my thoughts concerning the nature of theſe amazing phænomena, which ſo aſtoniſh the minds of mortals, and puzzle the ableſt philoſophers to diſcover their origin: From this diſcourſe, I paſſed inſenſibly into a more general one, concerning the ſtars; I ſaid what I thought was proper to one of his profeſſion, being unwilling to offend, by too much boldneſs, a man eſteemed the moſt learned and accompliſhed in that ſcience of this age; for though I give little credit to judicial aſtrology, as it is practiſed now-a-days, yet it would have been an incivility to expreſs ſo much to one that lives by it, and who, for his eminent ſkill therein, is honoured with the Grand Signior's friendſhip, and a noble penſion;

but with thee I will take the more freedom, in reſpect of that intimate familiarity that has been always between us.

That the heavenly bodies have an influx on this lower world, is an article the general ſenſe of all mankind gives teſtimony to, whilſt every morning we rejoice to ſee that glorious orb of light, the ſun, imprint the eaſtern ſkies and clouds with his refreſhing rays; he gilds the frontiers of the horizon, and decks the tops of mountains with cheerful brightneſs; the earth, the air, and ſeas, participate of the virtue of his beams; it is he gives life to plants and animals; he renovates the elements, and every ſublunary being.

So when he takes his congé every evening of our hemiſphere, he ſtill affords us light, though but at ſecond hand; whilſt he in perſon makes his progreſs to the weſtern continent, to cheer and recreate by his preſence the remote and ſolitary borders of America; fair Cynthia is his proxy here, attended on by other planets, waiting in their turns, and a whole hemiſphere of fixed ſtars.

Theſe ſhine by night, for other ends, no doubt, than merely to light the ſhepherds as they watch their harmleſs flocks, or ſerve as flambeaux to the wandering traveller; yet this is comfortable in our elementary darkneſs. The mariner rejoices, when in the mighty waſte of unknown ſeas, he makes a lottery of his fortune, and truſts his ſoul and body to a rotten ſkiff, where ſlavery and freedom, life and death, are equal chances; when he ſtruggles with impetuous winds, and boiſterous waves, threatened on all hands by the bedlam fury of the ſea; I ſay, he is glad at ſuch a time to have the light his friend, though it be but the faint glimmering of the ſtars, that he may ſee the perils that encompaſs him, and uſe the propereſt means to avoid them. How is his heart

revived, if, in the dreadful ſtorm, he ſpies but one poor chink or cranny in the cloſe gloomy clouds through which the azure ſky can ſhow itſelf! And then ſome proſperous conſtellation, to appear amidſt that checker-work of this low orb, and thoſe above, makes him take courage, and defy the powers of Æolus and Neptune; he challenges the rocks and ſands to hurt him, and mocks the fatal apparitions of Caſtor and Pollux.

Yet theſe, and many more inferior uſes, were not all for which the ſtars were made; they have beſides, undoubtedly, ſome dominion, influence, and power on earth, and all the beings dwelling on it; wherever they caſt their rays, there is ſome material emanation felt, and efflux full of hidden magic; they dart on men and other animals, on plants and other minerals, on every thing that is compounded of the elements and does reſide within the ſphere of their activity; each darts, I ſay, its own peculiar force and virtue. It is probable that every nation, tribe, and family, each climate, province, ſpot, and corner of the earth, have their particular ſtars; ſo have the different ſpecies of all ſublunary things, and every individual being; but how to determine their influence particularly, by divination, by calculating nativities, erecting horoſcopes, and other ſchemes of aſtrology, to foretel things to come, to avoid prognoſticated evils, and engroſs all happy events, to predict other mens fates, whilſt we are ignorant of our own, &c. is a thing which appears to me beyond the power of human reaſon, and a ſcience built on ſand.

For who has numbered the ſtars, or viſited the places of their different ſituation? who has underſtood their various qualities, engagements, aſteriſms, and obligation? their ties to one another, and their obedience to the laws of the univerſe? O that mortal man ſhould preſume to

dive thus far, even into the heavenly arcana, the cabinet-ſecrets of God Almighty! Will he be wiſer than Ptolemy, Caſſander, Eudoxus, Archelaus, Hoychilax, Halicarnaſſæus, and many others, moſt expert mathematicians, and men of profound judgment, who have confeſſed, that after all their ſearch in this ſcience, they find it impoſſible to make any certain concluſion from the configurations above, in regard of the innumerable multiplicity of cauſes co-operating with them, to which we are wholly ſtrangers; beſides thoſe things which oppoſe or favour the influence of the ſtars among ourſelves, and with which we are very familiar, as the force of blood, cuſtoms, traditions, manners, education, prejudice, prepoſſeſſion, place and time, empire and ſubjection, diet and diſcipline, finally, the freedom of mind, or its ſervitude; all which, they ſay, the ſtars cannot compel, but only diſpoſe and incline.

Moreover, they who have preſcribed the rules of judicial aſtrology, differ ſo extremely in one and the ſame ſubject, that there is no encouragement for a thinking man to hope ever to make a true judgment by their rules, unleſs he be divinely inſpired within, and have a certain natural inſtinct, which ſuggeſts to him the knowledge of future things, or he is poſſeſſed by ſome preſaging demon, whoſe whiſpers direct him what judgment to chooſe among the many that may be made upon the ſight of a ſcheme, according to the variety of rules that have been given; and this is the opinion of the learned Hall my countryman, who has had many followers: So that after all, this boaſted ſcience will rather deſerve the name of ſortilegy than aſtrology, whilſt all its dictates depend on pure conjecture, or the extempore affections of the mind; or, which is worſt of all, on the afflatus of buſy, intereſted ſpirits, genii, or demons of the air, who have ſome deſign

of their own to purſue, and make men their tools to execute it.

Undoubtedly they both deceive others and are deceived themſelves, who practiſe this vain art for the ſake of filthy lucre; for if there was any thing of truth in it, how came they to fail ſo often and ſo egregiouſly in their predictions? or why do they always couch their prognoſtications in ſuch ambiguous terms, that, like the Delphic oracle, may be taken in which ſenſe you pleaſe, and applied to any nation, prince, time, or perſon, as the aſtrologer ſhall pleaſe to comment, after ſomething of what he has ſaid at random may have happened? For from that infinite variety of ſtars and aſpects, it is very eaſy for a bold ſophiſter in his art to cull out ſuch for his turn as ſhall be proper to convince ignorant people that he was in the right, when he promiſed them long life, health, honours, riches, children, friends, power, victory, the enjoyment of their loves, and ſuch like, or threatened the quite contrary, even juſt as they fall out; but if at any time they were catched in an apparent falſehood, then they either compliment a man into a good opinion of them, by telling him, "a wiſe man has dominion over the ſtars," or they inſult over him by a thouſand contempts of his ſuppoſed folly, which they ſay reſiſted the influence of the ſtars, and hindered their good effect. Yet theſe ſort of people are in chiefeſt requeſt among the princes and potentates of the earth, eſpecially in the Eaſt, where there is nothing to be done either in peace or war, without firſt conſulting the aſtrologer, though really there is not a more unprofitable, not to ſay a more peſtilent race of men in a commonwealth.

Cornelius Tacitus, a grave author, complained of them in old time; ſo did Varro, with other ſincere writers; and it was a cuſtom in Alexandria formerly, for aſtrolo-

gers to pay a certain tribute, which they called fools-pence, becauſe it was taken from the gain which the aſtrologers made by their own ingenious folly, and the credulous dotage of their admirers.

My Dgnet, if our lives and fortunes depend upon the ſtars, what reaſon have we to be afraid of any thing? Why are we ſolicitous, and full of needleſs cares? Let us leave all things to God; and the heavens, which cannot err nor tranſgreſs the decrees of fate, will be our guarantees till death: But if our lives and fortunes are altogether independent of the celeſtial bodies, let us bid good night to aſtrology, as the vaineſt ape or mimic of a ſcience that ever buffooned the world.

It was ſaid of old by the ſages of Chaldea, "That God had committed the diſpoſal of days to Moſes, and of hours to Jeſus the ſon of Mary, but that he had reſerved the moments to himſelf, and his laſt favourite." Let us therefore every minute of our lives wait on him, the Father of all things, with an entire reſignation.

But there is a ſort of puny-ſpirited men, ſo timorous and void of true faith, that they will rather believe any thing, though the moſt incongruous fictions of hobgoblins, ghoſts, &c. than the dictates of ſolid reaſon; they tremble at the report of things which have no exiſtence in nature; and whoſe very idea is full of impoſſibilities and contradictions; yet they will ſtand the brunt of truth with brazen foreheads, and reſiſt the dint of rational arguments, like ſo many Coloſſuſſes: Hence it comes to paſs, that whereas one lie is apt to take away the reputation of any honeſt man, ſo that he ſhall not be believed when he ſpeaks true, on the contrary, here in our caſe, if an aſtrologer in his random predictions, by mere chance hits upon a remarkable truth, it procures him credit for all the lies that ever he has, or can be guilty of; imperti-

nent and prepoſterous ſort of fellows, who, whilſt they pretend to know, and foretel future things, are ignorant of that which is paſt or preſent; and when they are impudently aſſerting their familiarity with the houſes of the twelve ſigns in the zodiac, know not what is done in their own homes and beds, as this epigram ſays:

Aſtra tibi æthereo pandunt ſeſe omnia vati;
Omnibus et quæ ſint fata futura monent.
Omnibus eſt uxor, quod ſe tua publicat, id te
Aſtra, licet videant omnia, nulla monent.

But that which appears moſt ſtrange is, that they aſcribe the very gift of prophecy to the ſtars, alſo of the origin of religions, the ſecrets of conſcience, the power of working miracles and caſting out devils, the efficacy of prayer, and even our immortal happineſs or miſery after this life. Thus they aſſert, that when Gemini is the aſcendant, and in conjunction with Saturn and Mercury under Aquarius, in the ninth houſe, a prophet is born at that time; and therefore Jeſus the Meſſias was endowed with ſo many matchleſs gifts and abilities, becauſe he had Saturn in his configuration with Gemini.

Thus they diſtribute the various ſects of religion that are on earth into their diſtinct claſſes, according to the different aſteriſms above, Jupiter being ſuppoſed the general patron of all religion. Upon this ground, they aſcribe the religion of the Jews to Jupiter and Saturn, of the Chaldeans to Jupiter and Mars, of the Egyptians to Jupiter and the Sun, of the Arabians to Jupiter and Venus, of the Chriſtians to Jupiter and Mercury, and that religion or irreligion of antichriſt, which is to come, they aſcribe to Jupiter and the Moon: They ſay alſo, that Moſes preſcribed the obſervation of the Sabbath from aſtrological grounds, it being dedicated to Saturn: They

aſcribe the deluge to the influence of the ſtars, and the law given on Mount Sinai is in their divinity owing to the ſame original; they attribute the conception of Jeſus the ſon of Mary to Venus, and his ſuppoſed death to Mars; they affirm that the Meſſias himſelf was the greateſt aſtrologer of his time; that he made a particular choice of hours, wherein to work his miracles, and to paſs through the ſtreets of Jeruſalem without receiving damage from the Jews, which made him once ſay to his diſciples, "Are there not twelve hours in a day?" when they warned him not to go into the city on ſuch a day, for fear of the people.

They add, that whoſoever has Mars happily placed in the ninth houſe at his nativity, ſhall have power to expel demons from the poſſeſſed; and whoſoever has the Moon with Jupiter in conjunction with the Dragon's Head in the zenith, and ſhall pray to God, whatſoever he deſires ſhall be granted; and that immortal felicity depends on Jupiter and Saturn, if they be happily poſited in Leo, for whoſoever has this configuration, his ſoul after death being freed from infinite ſtraits and perils, ſhall aſcend to its original and native ſeat, the region of endleſs liberty and bliſs.

All this may be true, for ought I know, but till I have a demonſtration for it, I ſhall deſire to ſuſpend my belief; in the mean while, this is my faith, That all things depend on everlaſting deſtiny; whether the ſtars be inſtruments in executing the eternal decrees or no, it matters not much; all ſublunary beings muſt obey the law that cannot be revoked.

Then ſuffer not thyſelf, dear friend, to be diſmayed, or over-anxious at any thing that happens in this mortal life, but practiſe that ode of Horace,

Æquam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem: non secus in bonis,
Ab insolenti temperatam
Lætitia, moriture, &c.

Finally, my Dgnet, be moved at nothing. Adieu.

Paris, 5th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1681.

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XI.—*To* IBRO KALPHASER EFFENDI, *a Man of Letters at Constantinople.*

I CONGRATULATE the honour thou hast, in being made supervisor of that noble work, an universal history of the world; I wish thee and the other undertakers a whole hegira of happiness, whose date may commence with the finishing this illustrious volume.

The mufti has ordered me to address to thee such farther instructions as are necessary to render the history complete, that nothing either of substance or ornament may be wanting.

I formerly sent that patriarch of the faithful a scheme or model of the whole work, which I drew up in the best manner I could, for the time that was allowed me; now I send thee one more ample and correct; it is inclosed in the box which comes with this, wherein thou wilt also find a large catalogue of historians, containing almost all that have written the affairs of kingdoms and empires since the beginning of the world, with their particular characters, that thou mayest distinguish such as are worthy of credit from the authors of figments: Neither art thou to wonder that I have in these papers given thee cautions how to use even some of those whom we esteem of greatest integrity and reputation; for though they scorned to broach fables, or transmit romances to posterity, yet they

were fleſh and blood as well as other men, and many times their intereſt or paſſions biaſſed their judgment, and drew their pens into cabal with a party: Thus Herodotus himſelf, though otherwiſe a man of approved veracity, yet when he relates the wars of the Athenians, appears too partial to his darling countrymen, and lets thoſe paſſages eſcape his pen in their favour, which are contradicted by Plutarch, and other more diſintereſted writers, and for which he is particularly reproached by Plutarch, in a treatiſe of his, intitled, Of the Malice of Herodotus.

Therefore, in caſes of this nature thou art not to confide wholly in any one author, whom thou haſt reaſon to ſuſpect guilty of fiction in hiſtory, or ſupinely paſs thy ſentiments into thoſe of another, without examining whether his relations be true or falſe; but having ſo great a throng of teſtimonies, reſerve the laſt appeal to thyſelf, and let thy own judgment be the tribunal where every one's ſentence is finally determined.

Thus much may ſerve for a direction as to the matter of the hiſtory; what concerns the ſeveral periods of time wherein things were done, authors cannot with ſuch reaſon be ſuppoſed deſignedly faulty, as miſtaken in their chronology, and thoſe chiefly, who wrote in later times, and ſeem only to have collected and tranſcribed out of others what was for their turn: And thou wilt have reaſon to be particularly circumſpect in what thou takeſt on the credit of Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Paterculus, and ſome others, who ſeem to have been too precipitate in fixing the terms and periods of time requiſite to the illuſtrating their hiſtories, without making a due compariſon of the ſeveral epochas in uſe among the precedent hiſtorians, from whom they borrow their light.

In order, therefore, to the rendering this univerſal hiſtory the moſt correct and free from error of any yet ex-

tans, to the eternal honour of the muſſulmans, and advantage of all mankind, it will be neceſſary for thee to have a right notion of all the different hegiras, or computation of years, uſed by divers nations, from the firſt invention of records to this day: Theſe I have named in ſhort, at the tops of columns to which they belong, in the ſcheme I have ſent in the box; now I will explain their meaning to thee, and ſhow which are of moſt import in this work, and which not.

To begin then with that æra which is commonly taken for a ſeries of the years of the world, or a computation from the ſuppoſed origin of time, thou oughteſt to obſerve, that this is moſt diſputable and uncertain of all other epochas, in regard it is impoſſible to adjuſt the different accounts of the Jews, Grecians, Romans, Egyptians, Arabians, Perſians, and other nations, not to mention the almoſt eternal chronologies of the Chineſes and Indians, which extend many millions of years beyond the ſuppoſed time of the world's creation.

Wiſhing thee therefore, in this point, to adhere to thoſe epochas which are moſt commonly received in the Eaſt, we will paſs to Noah's flood, wherein thou muſt expect no other light ſave what is derived from Moſes and the Hebrew doctors, which has occaſioned many to confound this deluge with thoſe of Deucalion and Ogyges, mentioned by Ovid and other gentile writers: And indeed it may well ſtart a ſcruple in a mind not over-credulous, how it came to paſs that this univerſal deluge of Noah (ſuppoſing it to be ſuch) was recorded by no other nation on earth ſave only by the Jews, as if it had not equally concerned all mankind to tranſmit to poſterity the exact time of ſo general a depopulation of our race made by water; but ſo far are we from finding any ſuch memoirs, that there are no footſteps to be traced of the bare

matter of fact, or any mention made of a flood, ſave thoſe of Ogyges and Deucalion. Whence proceeded this neglect in the writers of Aſia? What intereſt, prepoſſeſſion, or prejudice, could biaſs the Phœnician antiquaries, the Perſian magi, the Chaldean ſages, the Indian gymnoſophiſts, or the bonzis of China, from regiſtering ſuch an inundation, as, if the ſtory be true, ſwept away all the race of Adam from the face of the earth, except eight perſons? Or ſhall we ſuppoſe that thoſe eight perſons combined together to conceal ſo great a cataſtrophe of human nature from their poſterity, making their children believe that they were the firſt mortals that ever lived on earth? If ſo, how came the poſterity of Sem to be favoured with the firſt diſcovery of the truth, and thoſe of Japhet and Cham to remain ignorant of their father's deliverance from an all-deſtroying deluge?

It has been uſual with the learned Nazarenes of late to cry down the writings of Manethon the Egyptian, Beroſus the Chaldean, Philo the Jew, with Metaſthenes, Anianus, and other authors of antiquity, becauſe they have delivered relations which thwart the error of theſe modern writers: On the ſame ſcore they contemn the Perſian antiquaries and poets, with all the records of the Eaſt, as fabulous and not worthy of credit, becauſe they have been more careful than other nations, eſpecially than thoſe in the Weſt, to conſerve the hiſtory of the firſt ages of the world entire, and free from corruption. But with what face will any rational man faſten this calumny on priſtine Egypt, that ſhe was the mother of fables and ignorance, which all the world knows to have been the ſole nurſe and ſeminary of ſcience and truth? Could not ſhe inform herſelf aright in the hiſtory of the world, who firſt taught the uſe of letters to other nations? Where was there any monument of antiquity that came not out of Egypt? or

what learning that was not firſt derived from the city of the ſun? Moſes himſelf, that renowned lawgiver of the Iſraelites, had his education at the feet of the Egyptian philoſophers, and the whole ſyſtem of his laws is but a partial epitome of their ſtatutes, which, by adding, diminiſhing, and altering, he fitted to the peculiar tradition and cuſtoms of the offspring of Jacob; and why may we not ſuppoſe he did the ſame in the hiſtorical part of his books, particularly ſo far as tended to beget faith and reverence in his reader, to the ſanctity of that which he celebrates under the title of the holy line, in which Noah was the Janus with two faces, one looking backward on the old world, the other forward, regarding the future ages of the new?

I ſpeak with freedom, and after the manner of the ſceptics, believing that the boldeſt diſquiſitions, even in things which are of divine aſſurance, are the beſt means to eſtabliſh the truth. Let it not paſs, therefore, for an argument of infidelity or atheiſm (which ſome are pleaſed to lay to my charge), in that I ſtrive to recover the loſt antiquities of the world out of the ruins of time and ignorance, and that to this end I even call in queſtion thoſe records, which, being fathered on Moſes, paſs for divine oracles, which contain paſſages repugnant to human reaſon, and appear infinitely more fabulous than thoſe, which, for their ſake, are condemned as ſuch by the ſuperſtitious Nazarenes.

In all this I have not contradicted the Alcoran, which confirms the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament, but declares at the ſame time, that the devil has inſerted many errors into them; it is only againſt theſe errors I diſpute, adoring the truth wherever I find it, though it were written in parchment made of the ſkin of an infidel, which thou knoweſt is as great an abomination as the fleſh of an hog.

But to return to Noah's flood, or that of Ogyges, or Deucalion's, which thou wilt, (for as the firſt is an epocha of the Jews, ſo the two latter are remarkable eras to the gentiles) thou wilt do well in uſing all three, and leave the ſcrutiny to others, for it will involve thee in a labyrinth of knotty diſputes.

The next epocha among the gentiles is taken from the burning of Ida, whereby men occaſionally found out the way to melt iron, and form it to their neceſſary uſes; and the next to that is the tranſlation of Ganymede; then the building of Troy; after that, the expedition of Jaſon to get the golden fleece; and forty-five years after that begins the great epocha of the Grecians, the firſt olympiad inſtituted by Hercules; next ſucceed the olympiads of Iphitus. I ſhould have mentioned the Jewiſh epocha, which begins with their departure out of Egypt; but in regard this is only uſed by the writers of that nation, thou wilt not find it of any great import. The years of Nabonaſſar are of general obſervation; ſo is the epocha from the building of Rome: The era of Alexander the Great is uſed by my countrymen the Arabian writers; the capitoline games is an era mentioned by ſome Roman authors, but not of general remark.

Theſe are all that are of any note in ancient hiſtory; for as to the Auguſtine years, or thoſe reckoned from the battle of Actium, they continued not long, and are but ſparingly mentioned in hiſtory: But I had almoſt forgot the Calippic periods, which muſt not be omitted, and therefore I have placed them at the top of a column in the ſcheme; they commence from the famous battle between Alexander and Darius at Arbela, wherein the Perſians received a total defeat.

As to more modern hiſtory, thou wilt have occaſion to uſe the Chriſtian era, the hegira of the Arabians, and

the Perſian epocha; thou muſt alſo obſerve the difference in the Julian and Gregorian accounts, the epocha of Diocleſian, the Spaniſh era; and above all things, both in the epochas of the ancient and modern hiſtory, thou muſt have a ſpecial regard to the different times of year wherein each diſtinct era begins, for they do not all commence in one and the ſame moon, but vary their dates from the beginning of the year to the end: The want of due care therefore in this point would breed a great confuſion in an univerſal hiſtory, and would render its chronology intricate and obſcure.

Follow the moſt ancient authorities, and be not diſcouraged at the captious remarks of modern writers; for they grope in the dark, and having ſet up to themſelves certain ſuppoſititious land-marks, whereby to meaſure the age of the world, they quarrel with the ancient ſages for ſaying it is of longer ſtanding; as if thoſe who are but of yeſterday knew better the extent of time backwards than ſuch as lived above two thouſand years ago: Thus they retrench the primitive ſucceſſions of the Aſſyrian monarchy, becauſe they are dated before their Jewiſh epocha of Noah's flood; and in the ſame manner they deal with the Egyptians and Indians of the Eaſt, becauſe thoſe kingdoms were in being long before the time theſe upſtarts have ſet for the beginning of the world.

But be not thou partial to the truth, nor ſwear to the words of ſuch as have narrow conceits of God and his works. Doubtleſs he is omnipotent and eternal, and it is no hereſy to affirm, that the univerſe, both in extent of time and place, is adequate to thoſe incomprehenſible characters of its architect.

Paris, 14th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1681.

XII.—*To the Wiſeſt of the Wiſe, the Key of the Treaſures of Knowledge, the Venerable* MUFTI.

I HAVE obeyed the orders of thy ſanctity, in writing to Ibro Kalphaſer Effendi the ſtudent; I have diſpatched to him all the neceſſary inſtructions he ſeems to want, together with a more ample and accurate ſcheme of the work to which thou haſt appointed him. When the tranſlators ſhall have procured the books I have named in a catalogue, there will be nothing more wanting but the compiler's care in delivering a correct chronology, wherein it will be neceſſary to deviate from the Nazarene and Jewiſh hiſtorians, who ſeem to have curtailed the age of the world, and repreſented it infinitely younger than it is in the records of the moſt ancient and unſuſpected writers.

The ground of this error, no doubt, was partly the ambition of the Jewiſh nation to poſſeſs a fame of greateſt antiquity, and to be accounted older than other countries, and partly the loſs of ſuch monuments and records as were extant in other nations before Noah's flood.

Of all people on the earth, the Jews ſeem to have been moſt guilty of impoſing on the world an opinion of their antiquity, and aggrandiſing their line above all the race of Adam; and from them the error is tranſmitted to the Chriſtians, who, giving a kind of implicit and blind faith to the Hebrew hiſtorians, have confined the age of the world within the compaſs of ſix thouſand years, whereas, if other chronologies be true, it may, for ought we know, be above ſix hundred thouſand years old.

The Egyptian chronicles give us an account of no leſs than ſeventeen ſucceſſive dynaſties or governments in that nation, before the Jewiſh and Chriſtian epochas of the origin of time; the Aſſyrians boaſt of a race of kings long before Noah's flood, whoſe ſucceſſion continued

down to the reign of Sardanapalus, without the leaſt interruption or vacancy made by any ſuch deluge; but the Chineſe and Indians exceed all the reſt of the world in the prodigious antiquity of their records; and among the latter, their bramins aſſert the age of the world to be little leſs than infinite or eternal: The laws and hiſtories of this nation (I ſpeak of the gentile Indians) are written in a language which is now antiquated, and has no affinity with any other ſpeech in the world; and the books that are extant in this language aſſert that it was the firſt and primitive ſpeech of mankind; none underſtand it at this day, but the prieſts and ſuch as they vouchſafe to teach it to in their ſchools and colleges; yet this is the language wherein are written the hiſtories of their firſt kings, the original of their government, and the fables of the world's immenſe antiquity.

Certainly it would be a deed worthy of thy munificence to procure a tranſlation of ſome of theſe records, that ſo we may no longer be in the dark as to the hiſtory of that renowned nation.

And I could heartily wiſh our chronology in this work might receive ſome light from ſuch unqueſtionable monuments.

The Chriſtians declaim againſt every thing that does not ſuit with their tenets; they ſet up their private errors as the ſtandard of truth, and reject whatſoever contradicts theſe, as fabulous and heretical. In this they act like the giant, who, when his gueſts were too ſhort for his bed, cauſed them to be ſtretched out with engines; and when they were too long, he cut off their legs or heads, to make them fit for their lodging. So do the Nazarenes deal with ancient writers, and eſpecially with ſuch as extend the age of the world beyond their narrow epocha, reſolving not to admit of any chronology which

exceeds the limits of their own; they retrench whole ages, and reduce the indefinite meaſure of paſt time to a ſpan; they eſteem the Indians as fools, eaſily impoſed on by their crafty prieſts, and all the records of the Eaſt paſs with them for fables, or the dreams of poets. There is no reaſon that the enlightened muſſulmans ſhould be their apes, and mock at oriental hiſtory, ſince we are taught from our cradles, "That all wiſdom comes out of the Eaſt."

But they will object, perhaps, how is it poſſible that any records ſhould be preſerved of the times before the flood, except ſuch as were ſaved in Noah's ark, ſince that univerſal inundation ſwept away all the reſt of mankind, and muſt needs utterly efface their writings and monuments? To this I anſwer, that they cannot prove this inundation to be univerſal, not even out of their own ſcriptures, which I have narrowly examined in this point, and find the deluge limited to that part of the earth which was inhabited at that time; which verbal limitation ſuppoſes that the whole globe was neither inhabited nor drowned, or elſe they muſt allow a tautology in ſcripture.

Beſides, it is evident from what the Bible ſays concerning Noah's preaching an hundred and twenty years before the flood, that this was but a particular deluge, inflicted as a puniſhment on that obdurate and impenitent nation where he lived, and who derided the warnings of the prophet; for it cannot be ſuppoſed that Noah wandered up and down over the face of the whole earth, to preach every where, and warn all mankind of the approaching calamity; and it would ſeem partial in God to ſend him to preach to one people only, and let the reſt of the world die in ignorance. Either, therefore, there were no more people in the world than thoſe of his own nation, or at leaſt there were no more to be drowned; he was employed in build-

ing the ark during the time that he preached, and the alcoran makes mention of the water that boiled in Noah's pot, which are convincing arguments that he went not out of his own country, unleſs we will ſuppoſe he carried the ark and his pot along with him, one of which is impoſſible, the other ridiculous, and both of them full of abſurdities.

Add to this, that it was impoſſible for Noah and his three ſons to build an ark ſo big as to contain all the ſpecies of clean beaſts and birds by fourteens, and the unclean by fours, and to have room enough to lay up proviſion ſufficient to nouriſh his family, with ſuch an infinite number of living creatures, ſome of which would multiply upon him every moon, others in a little more time, and all of them within the year that they were confined to the ark, for ſo long did the flood laſt.

It is evident then that it was but a particular deluge, and that the ark was made only large enough to contain the ſpecies of beaſts and birds peculiar to that country; for if it were otherwiſe, another difficulty will ſtart, how all the innumerable kinds of beaſts could tranſport themſelves from the iſlands and remote regions to the ark, and from thence back again to the places from whence they came, after the flood was abated and dried up?

A great deal more might be ſaid; but this is ſufficient to render it very probable, if not to demonſtrate, that this was no more than a particular deluge, by which God was reſolved to exterminate the infidels out of that land, even as he has inflicted judgments as terrible on other nations, deſtroying them by lightning, or vehement winds, or by armies of wild beaſts, as the alcoran often intimates: Other hiſtories ſpeak of whole cities in Afric, with all their inhabitants, turned into ſtone in one night's time,

as a punishment of their wallowing in that vice, whose very imagination creates a horror in chaste souls.

Supposing therefore that only Armenia, or the adjacent countries, were overwhelmed in this deluge, it will be easy to suggest that the other nations, such as Egypt, China, and the Indies, might retain their chronologies uncorrupt from their original source of time.

It is of great importance to true history that this point should be thoroughly examined, and the extent of the flood adjusted; for if it could be apparently made out that Noah's flood was but such another as those of Ogyges and Deucalion, all the mists which darken antiquity would vanish, the whole firmament of chronology would become clear and serene, and we should walk in the light of the primitive ages, without being dazzled or forced to wink.

Methinks I behold this light glimmering from afar like Aurora, the cheerful harbinger of approaching day; methinks I see the splendour of historical truth rising from the Orient, and gilding the tops of those mountains, which the ignorance and superstition of some, the pride and ambition of others, have raised to hinder our prospect of the far-extended ages of the primitive world; and without rapture or hyperbole, I dare be bold to presage, that a little more knowledge in the Indian language and histories will bring those things to light which have been hid for many thousands of years from the greatest part of mankind.

Go on then, thou sacred patron of history, go on to encourage this unparalleled work; send messengers to the Indies, men of learning and prudence; let them court the bramins with the promises of inestimable rewards; let them try to win those renowned philosophers to come with their books to the sanctuary of the world, that so this u-

universal history may transcend all that have been written before it, and that the proud contemners of the musſulmans may have this proverb common among themſelves, when they would aſſert any thing ſeriouſly, to ſay, It is as true as an oracle, or as the chronology of thoſe who believe the alcoran. Great light of the faithful, adieu.

Paris, 14th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1681.

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XIII.—*To* CARA HALI, *Phyſician in ordinary to the Grand Signior.*

I AM now arrived to a great age, and have rubbed through many fatigues in my lifetime; I have ſtood the brunt of a thouſand perils, and undergone much hardſhip; pains and afflictions have invaded me in body and ſoul; labour, perſecution, and grief, have been the portion of my paſt years; now I would fain live at eaſe if it were poſſible.

Therefore I have recourſe to thee, my old friend, who haſt often afforded me thy counſel in time of need; I do not addreſs for faſhion-ſake, or to diſcover the vaſt eſteem I have for a phyſician, whoſe ſkilful preſcriptions have ſo often ſaved my life: No, no, I am really in want of thy aid, and no man but thyſelf can cure me.

It is not eaſy for me to define my diſtemper, ſince it is heterogeneous, and complicated of many different maladies; however, it is fit that thou ſhouldeſt be informed of the particular ſymptoms, and the cauſes, as far as I can gueſs at them, and I can do no leſs than make thee in part my confeſſor.

Methinks I feel the reverſion of my youthful vanities inherit the entail of my paſt pleaſures, which is certainly nothing but pain and torment; thoſe agonies which I laughed at in other men are now fallen to my own ſhare;

the comedies of my greener years are become the ridiculous tragedies of my weather-beaten age.

Whilſt I ſweat, frown, and make a thouſand grimaces at the anguiſh given me by the gout, ſtone, ſtrangury, cholic, cramp, and other acute diſeaſes, which excruciate me by turns, I think the divine Nemeſis has appointed ſome devil for an inquiſitor and tormentor of every bone, vein, artery, nerve, muſcle, and gut in my body: Surely I am laid in the firſt pickle of nature's wrath; I wiſh it may be the laſt, for I do not in the leaſt covet her ill-will.

Then I have my ſucceſſive intervals of dropſies, aſthmas, dyſenteries, fevers, conſumptions, and God knows how many more ſpecies of ſickneſs; yet ſometimes I am as ſeemingly well in health as Morogli Zudiſtan, the old aga, that lived juſt by the obeliſk in the Hippodrome, who ran away from his father in his youth, and ſerved ſeventeen years in the wars of Perſia, lived till he was eighty-nine years old, yet never was let blood, took phyſic, or was ſick in all his life.

I proteſt it is hard for me to gueſs at my own conſtitution, or to find out the original of thoſe different habits in my body; yet I have a feeling ſenſe of that myſelf, which I cannot expreſs to another.

Sometimes I think there is ſome native and radical venom in my body, derived from the influence of malignant ſtars, that had the dominion at my birth, though how or why it ſhould be ſo I am altogether ignorant; neither can any aſtrologer, with all his ſchemes and heavenly figures, convince me which of the conſtellations or planets did me the fatal injury; I give no credit to their antiquated tales of trines, conjunctions, oppoſitions, quartiles, and the reſt of their Egyptian jargon; I believe there may be ſomething true and ſacred at the bottom of aſtrology, but it is covered with a heap of rubbiſh, rules, and

observations; and they that take moſt pains, dig deepeſt, and make the narroweſt ſearch into the ruins of that noble ſcience, ſhall for one genuine pearl find a thouſand counterfeits, for one truth a thouſand errors. It fares with aſtrology as it does with religion, which is cantoniſed into innumerable ſects and factions, each poſitively aſſerting that they have the only incorrupt laws of God, whereas, if you make a ſtrict ſcrutiny, you ſhall find very little ſincere piety, but abundance of profaneneſs, hypocriſy, and ſuperſtition.

Well, let it be how it will, whether the ſtars have any hand in the plot of human events or no, whether Saturn or Mars be malevolent or benign planets, it matters not much; no more does it to hear what they prate of all the various aſpects and configurations of the other ſtars: This I am ſure of, that I endure a great many pains, which, let them be derived from above or below, are very troubleſome.

It is poſſible that all or moſt diſtempers which afflict human bodies, in ſo many different kinds, may be but the effects of one original indiſpoſition, or artaxy, in our animal ſpirits, or ſome hereditary contagion in our blood, or ſeminal peſts in our humours, which, Proteus-like, appears in different forms, maſquerading it up and down our bodies, in the diſguiſe of fevers, agues, phthyſies, coughs, conſumptions, rheumatiſms, pleuriſies, and a thouſand more; or perhaps our vitals are not ſound; ſome fall or knock, or other accident in our infancy, might put us out of frame, or the debaucheries of youth may leave their ſting behind them, to chaſtiſe our riper years, and teach us wiſdom before it is too late.

I tell thee in ſhort, all my maladies, as I conjecture, owe their original to an ill-tempered ſpleen and vitiated hypochondria. This, as I ſaid before, I can eaſily feel

within myſelf, but can hardly expreſs the manner how it comes to paſs, with that accuracy as is requiſite to make another ſenſible of it; only, in general terms, I ſuppoſe it has made me extremely melancholy at ſome times, and as exceſſively merry and frolicſome at others, both which paſſions, thou knoweſt, have an ill influence on the heart, midriff, pericardium, liver, and lungs. This I have found by frequent and long experience, though I will not undertake to deſcribe the mechanic operation of theſe contiguous vitals one upon another, eſpecially to thee, who art the moſt accompliſhed and curious anatomiſt of this age; ſuffice it to ſay, that I have perceived within myſelf the violent and forcible contraction or dilatation, heating or cooling of any of theſe interior principal parts, to be very pernicious to my health, having an immediate influx on all the reſt, and ſo on the blood, wherein is contained the very eſſence of this mortal life.

My dear phyſician, our bodies are perfect machines, and ſubject to the like miſchances; if but a ſtraw, a pin, or any ſuch diminutive trifle, get between the wheels of a watch, it is preſently diſordered in its motion; the whole frame of the artificial mechaniſm is either at a ſtand, or goes too ſlow or faſt, or at leaſt very unevenly; ſo the ſmalleſt irregular paſſion in any of the chief members of our bodies diſturbs and violates the peace of all the reſt; it ſpoils their harmony, and makes them jar, juſt like a viol, when ſome blundering hand has new-turned the pegs, after a ſkilful muſician had put the inſtrument in tune.

Beſides, there is a ſtrange chain of conſequences without; our paſſions hurt not ourſelves only, but others, and we receive again the revenge of the damage we give, for there is an eternal circulation of juſtice in the world: The whole univerſe is but a piece of clock-work, where one motion begets another to infinity, and one ſtop in the

meaneſt wheel would put all the reſt to an equal ſtand. We mortals are parts of this grand mechaniſm, and have our particular ſhares in the diſaſters that happen to the whole; I, for my part, by many caſual jolts of misfortune, the deſigned bruiſes of enemies, and the corroding teeth of time, am almoſt worn out; if thou wilt by thy ſkill reſtore me again, and put me in frame, the praiſe will be thy own; otherwiſe, the Firſt Artiſt muſt even take me to pieces, diſſolve this uſeleſs maſs, and when I am thus reduced to my original element, he may new-mould my ductile ſubſtance, and hammer it to what faſhion and end he pleaſes.

Only I beg of him rather to make me any four-footed beaſt than a Spaniard, a Dutchman, or a Jew, among men; for theſe are the ſcandals of human race.

Paris, 2d of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1682.

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XIV.—*To* Abdel Melec Muli Omar, *Preſident of the College of Sciences at Fez.*

I have had to do lately with men pretending to aſtrology, perſons of many words, and oſtentatious expreſſions; but of little ſenſe, and leſs knowledge, even in the very ſcience they boaſt of. I can compare them to none more properly, than to thoſe travellers who viſit foreign countries that they may cõme home laden with romances and fables, with trifling remarks, and jejune obſervations, to make a crackling noiſe among the vulgar; whilſt wiſe men laugh at their folly, in that, after all their extravagant rambles abroad, they are not able to give a rational account of any thing to the purpoſe, and are perfectly ſtrangers to the place of their own nativity; ſo theſe pretended ſtar-gazers, whilſt they boaſt of being familiarly

acquainted with all the regions of the ſky, can draw maps, charts, and figures of the remote heavens, delineate the houſes of the zodiac, the courſe of the ſigns, the governments, laws, and influences of the planets and conſtellations, are ignorant of their own domeſtic region, this globe whereon they dwell; they know not the things with which they are daily converſant, much leſs can they penetrate into the ſecrets of the earth, or diſcover the things that are under their feet.

Wherefore, turning my back on theſe vain ſcholiaſts, I approach with reverence to thee, who art accompliſhed in the myſteries of thoſe worlds above and this below; I have two difficulties upon my mind, which I beſeech thee to ſolve; the firſt is concerning the original of the blacks or negroes; the other about the flux and reflux of the ſea.

I was in company not long ago with an eminent phyſician of Paris, a perſon of great abilities, a ſearching ſpirit, and very curious in his natural obſervations; among other ſubjects which we diſcourſed of, we fell at length upon the grand diviſion of mankind into blacks and whites, which carried us ſo far, as to inquire into the cauſes of this difference in their colour, whether it proceeded from the various heat and influence of the ſun, or from the diverſe qualities of the climates wherein they live, or, finally, from ſome ſpecific properties in themſelves, in the natural frame and conſtitution of their bodies.

He was of opinion, that if Adam were white, all his children muſt be ſo too; if black, all his poſterity muſt be of the ſame colour; therefore, by conſequence, either the blacks or the whites are not the deſcendants of Adam. This he endeavoured to prove by many plauſible arguments; but he inſiſted chiefly on one experiment he had ſeen made, when preſent at the diſſection of a dead negro; for he affirmed, that between the outward and inward ſkin

of the corpſe, was found a kind of vaſcular plexus, ſpread over the whole body like a web or net, which was filled with a juice as black as ink, from whence he concluded the outward ſkin received its tincture; and in regard there is no ſuch web or net to be found under the ſkin of a white man, it ſerved to him as an argument that they were two different ſpecies or races of men from the very firſt original of mortals; nature having given the one kind an inward as well as an outward characteriſtic to diſtinguiſh them from the other in this diverſe organiſation of their bodies.

I muſt confeſs it has been my opinion a long time, that the negroes or blacks owe their colour to a far higher and more ancient original than to the curſe which Noah pronounced on Cham and all his poſterity, as is commonly believed; and I could even grant them to be a different race from that of Adam; for it is no new thing with me to conceive that mankind had a different original from that which is recorded in the book that goes under Moſes's name; and I dare be bold to ſay, that that book of Geneſis was either not penned by Moſes, or if it were, that it has been much corrupted in after times, and that at preſent there is not any known true copy of it in the world; for how can we father ſo many incongruities as are to be found in that book on the holy prophet? Or, if he were really the author of ſuch contradictions and abſurdities, how can we believe him without forfeiting our ſenſe? God gave us our reaſon to be a lamp and a prop, to light and ſupport us as we walk through the dark and uncertain wilderneſs of this mortal life, not as an *ignis fatuus*, to miſguide us, or a reed of Egypt which deceives him that leans on it, and cauſes him to fall; he has ſquared our faculties to the works of eternity; our native ideas of things are exact and true, till adulterated by the falſe

ſtrokes of education, ſuperſtition, and foreign error: Thus, in my infancy, I remember I could not conceive any limits to the extent of ſpace, nor any beginning to the age of the world; and I have retained the ſame notion of infinite and eternal matter ever ſince, even to theſe grey hairs; ſo, of the original of mankind I believe not the narrow and partial genealogies of the Jews, who only ſtrove to exalt themſelves and their own lineage above all the nations on earth beſides.

For aught I know, there were as many original protoplaſts of mortals as there are different nations, ſpeaking various radical and material languages, obeying ſeveral forms of government, and practiſing diſtinct maxims and principles; or, it is poſſible the Eaſt produced one ſort of men, the Weſt another; whilſt the North and the South brought forth an equal variety. Who knows the force of the conſtellations and heavens above, or the hidden virtues which exhale from the depths below? Theſe may differ as the climates do; and the firſt ingredients of the earth might all be marked with the various affections, paſſions, and diſpoſitions of her then common parent; even as children are now-a-days ſtigmatiſed with the luſt of a teeming mother.

O that it were poſſible with Theſeus to deſcend into the bowels of this globe, and come up alive and ſafe again! that we might dive into the abyſſes below, and viſit the caverns of perpetual darkneſs! that we might creep along by the roots of the ancient mountains, or through the channels of mines a thouſand miles beneath the ſurface! There would I ſeek for the fountains of hidden waters, which run to and fro in the veins of the earth; I would find out the ſubterranean ſeas, lakes, and rivers, which feed our upper ocean with its briny floods; and perhaps,

there I ſhould diſcover the true cauſe of the flux and reflux of the ſea, which has ſo puzzled all philoſophy.

Tell me, thou ſage of ſages, can all the fountains, rivulets, mighty channels, lakes, and ſeas, which we ſee on the ſuperficies, be conſtantly ſupplied only by ſhowers from heaven, which in ſome places fall very ſparingly, or not at all? Could the conſtant regular tides and ebbs be ſtill maintained by the uncertain fickle rains and ſnows? Or is there not an eternal circulation of waters through the various hollowneſſes of the earth?

In a mine at Bern in Swiſſerland, about 230 years ago, there was found a whole ſhip 50 fathom deep, with all its tackle, and the dead bodies of many ſeamen: I aſk, How that ſhip came there?

Who can give me an account of the many whirlpools, voragos, and Charybdiſes there are in diverſe ſeas? There is one on the north of the world, not far from Muſcovy, forty miles in compaſs, which when the tide comes in, ſwallows up all the ſea with an inſupportable noiſe, above that of thunder, with ſhips, fiſh, and whatſoever elſe comes within that fatal ſtream; then at the ebb it throws them up again with equal fury. Doubtleſs, there are innumerable ſuch devouring jaws of the earth under the various bottoms of the ſea; and I will never trouble myſelf any farther for the ſolution of this grand ſcruple, which coſt the Stagyrite his life.

Venerable ſage, tell me thy opinion of theſe things; for I could bring inſtances enough to write a volume on this ſubject; but I am brief with thee who canſt not improve by any thing I can ſay, who write this as one that begs inſtruction, and not to teach or inform an oracle.

Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1682.

## XV.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

HERE is a race of infidels newly ſtarted in France, who, if they be let alone, may, for ought I know, in time depopulate not only this kingdom, but the whole earth; a ſociety of miſcreants, ſorcerers, magicians, witches, and I know not what; they ſecretly ſteal children away from their parents, and offer them in ſacrifice to demons; their blood they ſave to compound horrible poiſons and execrable enchantments. The bread of Paris and other cities is become like the fruit of the tree Zacon, which overſhadows the centre of hell, full of deadly venom; the fountains of once living and refreſhing waters are now tainted with the contagion of Styx, Phlegethon, and Cocytus; there is no ſafety in eating or drinking; men chooſe to periſh by hunger or thirſt, rather than taſte the very fruits of the earth; they undergo a voluntary famine in the midſt of infinite plenty; and whilſt there is an affluence of all things which uſe to ſupport our mortal life, people complain of ſcarcity, and die for want of wholeſome food.

In the mean while, nobody can tell the meaning of it: but a diligent inquiry is made: Some are arreſted on ſuſpicion, others are convicted by undeniable evidence, yet will confeſs nothing; they prove them guilty in matter of fact, and put them to more than the common tortures, but can extort not a ſyllable from them, which ſhall diſcover their accomplices, or reveal the bottom ſecret of this nefandous practice.

Ariſe! ariſe! ariſe! Medea, Circe, Æſculapius, or ſome other powers more expert in nature's hidden force! Ariſe, I ſay, and prop the fainting relics of human race. New deaths invade the world, men ſpeak, ſeem ſtout, they walk the ſtreets, are merry, briſk, and gay; and yet in

the height of laughter, down they drop and die. This is very ſtrange; but more ſo it is, that even after death, when they are cold, their chops remain ſtill diſtorted in the ſame comical figure, not much unlike the ſtatue of the ſatyr which ſtands behind the gate of the women's apartments in the ſeraglio.

I have indeed read of a fruit, which whoſoever taſtes, will die laughing; and of the torpedo, which if any man touch, though with a ſtaff or pole in his hand, immediately it benumbs him, and takes away his ſenſe of feeling: But I always aſcribed theſe ſtories to the romantic humour of Pliny, or at leaſt of thoſe from whom he collected the pleaſant paragraphs of his natural hiſtory; but now I am convinced that is poſſible theſe things may be true.

In a word, I tell thee plainly, that were it not for honeſt Eliachim the Jew, poor Mahmut muſt ſtarve himſelf; for I would rather die weeping and famiſhing, deploring and lamenting the miſeries of human life, than paſs to Orcus in an artificial good humour only framed by the force of poiſons and charms. But Eliachim and all the Jews are ſingular in their diet; they take care not to be polluted by abominable infidels; they will not eat the bread of the Chriſtians, nor taſte of their fleſh; the law of Moſes forbids it, and they are very curious in obſerving it; they have their corn-merchants, millers, bakers, butchers, poulterers, and fiſhmongers, by themſelves, their fruiterers alſo, and ſuch as ſerve them with water, wine, or any other beverage; they will not eaſily be cheated of their lives, through the complaiſance of what they call good nature; neither French nor Dutch, Italians nor Spaniards, ſhall impoſe upon them; they eat and drink more nicely (I ſpeak of the better ſort) than the infidel kings of the earth.

Herein lies my ſafety amidſt the common danger; I never eat or drink, of late, but at Eliachim's houſe; for I dare not, ſo well-grounded are the fears of poiſon in the ſociety of Nazarenes at this time in Paris.

By the God of my fathers, and my God, I would not willingly go down to the ſhades in a vehicle of atamala, xerim, or any other ſubtle eaſtern opiate; I would rather fairly ſtand the fate of a bullet, dagger, ſword, or any thing that with candour threatens us above-board; but to be ſneakingly undermined, circumvented, &c. goes againſt the grain, by the wounds of Mahomet, which he received before the holy flight.

O Ali, Ali! this oath brings thy fame to my remembrance. Who durſt ſtand againſt the ſword of Ali when he was in his wrath? Ali, the true ſucceſſor of the prophet!

Do not take me for a kyſilbaſchi, heretic, infidel, &c. for I am of an untainted race, a true believer, a muſſulman in all ſenſes; but I hate fanaticiſm and factious bigotry: Though we hate the Perſians, and purſue them as incorrigible heretics, may we not love and honour the caliph whom they follow? So we are profeſſed enemies to the Chriſtians, and yet we reverence Jeſus the ſon of Mary, the Chriſtians Meſſias.

But to return to the French; the king has erected a kind of inquiſition court, which is called the Chamber of Poiſons: Here all perſons ſuſpected of theſe diabolical practices are examined, and put to the torture; alſo, millers, bakers, butchers, fruiterers, vintners, and other trades, which ſell any thing to eat or drink, are ſworn in this chamber, and undergo a ſevere ſcrutiny; ſo do all phyſicians, druggiſts, and apothecaries. Edicts are daily publiſhed, whereby "all perſons pretending to a ſpirit of divination, &c. are commanded forthwith to depart the

kingdom under the penalty of death." It is ordered alſo, "That whoſoever has abuſed any ſentence of the written law, in making of enchantments, ſpells, charms, or any thing beſide or beyond the force of nature, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed." The ſame edict forbids "all uſe of poiſons, unleſs they be ſuch as are ingredients of wholeſome medicines, and help to compound thoſe phyſical preparations which are neceſſary to conſerve the life of men; and that even theſe ſhall not be ſold to any perſon whatſoever, but only to thoſe who by their art and profeſſion are obliged to make uſe of them." Abundance of care is taken both by the ſtate and the church, by public magiſtrates and private perſons, to diſcover the authors of theſe inhuman tragedies, and to prevent the like for the future; every man's eye is upon his neighbour, and they of the ſame houſe are jealous one of another; the father ſuſpects and narrowly watches the motions of his ſon, and the mother will not truſt the daughter of her delight; children are wary of their parents, and one brother or ſiſter dares not eat or drink any thing prepared by another; neither the ties, nor even the ſacred bonds of friendſhip itſelf, are ſufficient to conquer men's fears and apprehenſions of being poiſoned.

In the mean while, the inhabitants of Algiers have felt a terrible blow from the French arms; for the King of France having received ſome affront from theſe corſairs, gave orders to the Sieur de Queſne, lieutenant-general of his naval forces, to go and bombard their city; which was performed accordingly, in the beginning of the 9th moon; and that bold warrior threw ſo many bombs into the town, that he ruined a conſiderable part of it, overthrew the principal moſque, and killed many thouſands of men; which obliged the Algerines to become humble

ſupplicants for peace; and it was granted them on certain conditions, advantageous enough for France.

This monarch is wholly addicted to war, in which alſo he is no leſs expert than he is in matters of ſtate; and he loves to ſee his ſubjects follow his example. To this end he has lately eſtabliſhed two ſeminaries, one in the citadel of Tournay, the other in that of Metz, where a certain number of cadets or younger brothers, who can prove themſelves deſcended of noble blood, are educated at the king's charge, and taught the method and art of fortifications, with other exerciſes of military diſcipline.

This is a great encouragement to the young gentry and nobles, and fills them with glorious emulations, every one being ambitious to excel another in theſe heroic arts; and the king will never want for able ſoldiers to ſerve him in any ſtation at home or abroad.

Illuſtrious Ismacham, this is all the news I can at preſent ſend thee. May God protect thee and all the true faithful from the ſly attempts of magicians, witches, and poiſoners. As for me, I know not how long I ſhall eſcape their ſnares; but I will be as cunning as I can. Sage miniſter, adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1682.

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## XVI.—*To* Nathan Ben Saddi, *a Jew at Vienna.*

I received a diſpatch yeſterday, ſigned with thy name, but not written by thy own hand, nor in thy accuſtomed ſtyle; and yet there is no mention made of ſickneſs, a broken arm, or any other misfortune, which might hinder thee from penning it thyſelf, which fills me with abundance of doubts and ſcruples. If the palſy, or any other diſeaſe, has taken from thee the uſe of thy limbs, I hope

it has not deprived thee of thy reaſon; that faculty would have prompted thee to explain this myſterious way of correſpondence, by the ſame hand which wrote the letter. I know not what to think of it. It was very odd thus to leave me in the dark; and thou canſt not blame me, if in this obſcurity I ſtumble upon ſuſpicious thoughts. I am not jealous of thy fidelity, though ſuch a conduct as this would make a man fear the worſt; but I rather apprehend the effect of thy credulity and negligence. In a word, I am afraid leſt ſome prying buſy-body has got a glimpſe of our ſecret buſineſs and mutual intelligence, and ſo put this trick upon me in thy name, to ſee what anſwer I will make, which they may think eaſy to do, by intercepting the letters which are addreſſed to thee by the poſt; to prevent which, I ſend this by a private meſſenger. We cannot be too cautious in ſuch caſes, where one falſeſtep betrays all, and lays our deſigns open to the world.

I conjure thee to be very plain and particular in thy next; ſatisfy me in all things; for I am very anxious at preſent; my mind is full of thorns and briars; I ſhall not write to any of the ſublime miniſters, till I have thy anſwer by the ſame meſſenger I ſend; therefore diſpatch him with expedition.

As to Count Tekeli's buſineſs, if this information be really thy own, and not ſent by ſome ſly interloper, I like the project well enough, and will communicate it to the grand viſier, or the kaimacham, without taking notice of thy overſight in putting me to this fright and trouble. The count has a good character among the French, who are no friends to the houſe of Auſtria, or enemies to the Grand Signior. This is certain, new ſpirits muſt be raiſed in room of thoſe who are taken away; for conſpiracies of this nature muſt not be given over upon every diſcouragement. Care muſt be taken, that the Hunga-

rian faction be conſtantly ſupplied with freſh and active heads, like the hydra, as faſt as the old ones are cut off; and I know not where they could have pitched upon a more likely man than Count Tekeli: He comes of a good parentage, and his anceſtors were all along patriots, and ſticklers for their country's liberties; they ever oppoſed the tyrannous encroachments of the houſe of Auſtria.

Carcoa's journal relates many remarkable paſſages of the Tekelis, whoſe caſtle, he ſays, was the uſual rendezvous of all the malcontent lords in thoſe parts, who were weary of the German yoke; there they caballed, and held their private conſults, there they hatched their plots againſt the emperor. I read this journal daily, finding no ſmall pleaſure in it, and abundance of profit; for it contains ſelect memoirs of diverſe curious tranſactions and events that happened both in public and private, during his reſidence at Vienna; and I take the greater delight in reading him, becauſe his ſtyle is very ſhort, yet comprehenſive; familiar alſo and free, without impertinencies, or ſoleciſms; he gives not one the fatigue of dwelling long upon a period, to hammer out the ſenſe by attentive ſtudy, but he couches his words like a train of gunpowder, which is no ſooner lighted at one end, but in an inſtant the other catches the flame; ſo you can hardly caſt your eyes on three words at the beginning of a paragraph or ſentence in Carcoa's journal, but you anticipate his ſcope in all the reſt. This argues a great ſerenity of ſpirit in the author, and an elegance not to be met with but in a mind void of clouds. Beſides, he relates no trivial matters, or tales fit only for women and boys, but he treats altogether of weighty and important affairs, intrigues of ſtate, remarkable ſtrokes of war, ſubtle overtures of peace, which he gracefully intermixes with parallels of hiſtory, with characters and deſcriptions of

countries and their inhabitants, and finally, with philoſophical, moral, and political remarks, all very agreeable and pleaſant.

Nathan, I counſel thee to imitate his example, and leave ſome memorial behind thee of thy induſtry and virtue. To this end, apply thyſelf at ſpare hours to reading; but be ſure uſe caution in the choice of books, elſe it is but time miſpent; be curious in ſearching out the moſt excellent treaſures, for vain and trifling ſubjects are fit only for the fire; have a ſpecial regard to the credit of ſuch hiſtorians as fall in your way; beſtow not a moment on thoſe that are not authentic, leſt old time call thee to an account for the waſte; then accuſtom thy pen to make epitomes, abſtracts, and collections out of what thou readeſt; and learn to be nice and cleanly in thy language; a ſqualid ſtyle turns the ſtomach of a reader, whereas polite expreſſions whet his appetite, and cauſe him to devour whole volumes with a guſt.

After all, I bid thee farewell; and adviſe thee not to neglect the Grand Signior's buſineſs, but mind the main chance.

Paris, 5th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1682.

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## XVII.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

I SHALL now acquaint thee with an accident, which extremely ſurpriſed me when I firſt heard of it, and has ſtill left me in confuſion. About ſeven weeks are paſſed ſince I received a letter, dated as from Vienna, which Nathan Ben Saddi ſubſcribed; but I preſently perceived it was not his own hand-writing, which made me very uneaſy and full of careful thoughts; for it contained matters of importance, ſecrets of the Hungarian league, with a pro-

ticular project relating to Count Tekeli, a great lord in that country

I conſidered, that if the letter were written with Nathan's knowledge, and by his order, he could not be ſo forgetful as not to bid the ſcribe, whoever he was, give me an account of the reaſons which hindered him from writing to me himſelf; for he muſt needs imagine I ſhould be troubled, and in no ſmall aſtoniſhment, to find matters of that dangerous conſequence addreſſed to me in an unknown hand, under his name; or elſe I thought he took me for a man that made no reflections on things. I knew not well what to conclude, amidſt ſo many probable uncertainties.

However, I was reſolved to act more ſecurely, and with greater caution on my ſide, in order to a right information in this myſtery; wherefore, not daring to truſt the poſts, I diſpatched away a private courier to Vienna, one in whom I can confide, with ample inſtructions, and a letter to Nathan Ben Saddi, wherein, among other things, I deſired him to tell me the meaning of this conduct.

My meſſenger is honeſtly and ſafely returned again to Paris, but no Nathan Ben Saddi to be heard of: All the account he could learn of him was, that about eight weeks ago he went out of his houſe with a ſtranger who pretended buſineſs with him at the burſe or exchange; but neither he nor the ſtranger have been ſeen or heard of ſince; only they ſaid, that a day or two after Nathan was miſſing, there was the dead body of a man ſeen floating in an eddy of the Danube, hard by the bridge, but the face was ſo mangled and diſfigured with wounds and ſlaſhes, that it was impoſſible for any to diſtinguiſh or diſcern who it was; yet Nathan's friends were apt to ſuſpect it was he himſelf, and that he had been privately murdered, and afterwards thrown into the river.

This is the ſubſtance of what my meſſenger could learn of him; and he was forced to uſe abundance of caution in inquiring ſo far; leſt by being leſs reſerved he might have brought himſelf into trouble, run the hazard of being put to the torture, and diſcovering what I intruſted him with, beſides other inconveniencies.

Praiſe be to God, he eſcaped all ſcrutiny, and is come back ſafe with my letter; but what is become of that Jew God knows. Perhaps ſome of his own nation have made him away privately, to prevent his turning muſſulman; for he was unſettled in his religion, and if, amidſt his waverings, he ſeemed to have any particular bias ſtronger than ordinary, it was that which inclined him to the faith of true believers; and if he periſhed on this account, we ought to eſteem him as a martyr of God and his prophet. But I muſt confeſs, I that well knew the ſhallowneſs and inconſtancy of Nathan's temper, with the ſuperſtitious attach which he ever had for his rabbis, have hardly faith or charity enough to believe his zeal for the alcoran would carry him to martyrdom; neither can I forbear thinking there is ſomething worſe in it.

But all this which ſeems ſo ſtrange to me, may be well known to the miniſters of the auguſt Porte, by whoſe order, perhaps, he has received a ſecret death, as a chaſtiſement of ſome crimes they have found him guilty of, and which they could not inflict openly, in a country of enemies and infidels; or, it may be, he has privately withdrawn himſelf, to prevent ſuch a puniſhment, being conſcious that he deſerved it. Be it how it pleaſes God and my ſuperiors, I humbly crave advice and inſtructions about the ordering my bills and other matters. Sage kaimacham, adieu.

Paris, 6th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1682.

## XVIII.—*To* Dgnet Oglou.

This comes to thy hands by the ſame poſt with one to the kaimacham; therefore I pray thee be quick in executing the contents of it. I have not one friend in the ſeraglio whom I dare truſt with ſuch a ſecret; thou art my only refuge, at a juncture which requires fidelity, prudence, and a dexterous conduct in diving and ſearching into a certain myſtery, which, for ought I know, may concern my life.

To tell thee, in ſhort, Nathan Ben Saddi, the ſultan's agent incognito at Vienna, a Jew by deſcent and religion, is, I fear, privately murdered by ſome order from the divan; but for what reaſons I know not, unleſs it were in compliance with the old maxims of the ſublime Porte, which ſeldom ſuffer any ſlave to go to his ſepulchre in peace, who has ſerved the Grand Signior many years in any eminent ſtation. He has been miſſed at Vienna theſe eight weeks; and within a day or two after his firſt abſence, the body of a dead man was found floating on the Danube, but ſo diſfigured with wounds, as it could not poſſibly be known who he was, which gives me the greater ſuſpicion that it was he; and if ſo, I may expect to be ſerved ſo myſelf in a little time; for my turn is next.

Therefore, if thou haſt any love or friendſhip for me, be watchful on my behalf; attend the whiſpers of the court, and obſerve the language of thoſe who diſcourſe with their fingers ends: The caſt of the eye many times diſcovers the ſecret ſentiments of the heart; ſo does a ſhrug of the ſhoulder, a pout of the lip, or any other artificial geſture; they are all ſignificant, and expreſſive of what affections and thoughts we harbour within. Thou knoweſt how to act the mute upon occaſion, as well as any in the ſeraglio; I conjure thee to uſe great dexterity, and

no leſs expedition in unravelling this ſecret; feign to know ſomething more than thou doſt, that ſo thou mayeſt really learn what I would have thee know concerning Nathan's fate, and mine too, if poſſible. Let no cold indifference make thee neglect this due care of thy friend's intereſt and life; we were born to ſerve one another with mutual zeal and fidelity; the good offices thou doſt me are but lent, to be repaid again with others, whenever opportunity preſents itſelf. But theſe arguments are ſuperfluous; thou needeſt no ſpurs to do a generous action; I know thou loveſt me, and will be active at this juncture on my account.

In full and entire confidence of this, I take my repoſe under the ſhadow of the divine mercy, begging of God to afford thee a ſhelter in time of peril; and that when thou and I have weathered all the tempeſts of this mortal life, we may triumphantly enter the port of paradiſe, and enjoy one another in eternal felicity.

Paris, 6th of the 11th Moon, of the year 1682.

FINIS.

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